



Gubbio, past and present

Laura McCracken

gift of

Mr. & Mrs. E.L. Del



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BBIO, PAST & PRESENT

BY
Laura McCracken

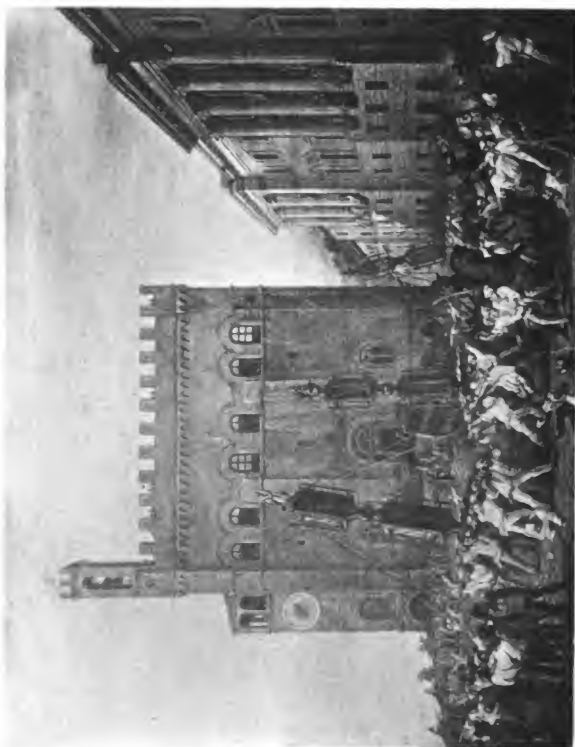
Illustrated
by
Katharine
McCracken



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G U B B I O



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A. S. Ecc. Rev^{ma}

Monsignore Angelo Maria Dolci

Vescovo di Gubbio

Monsignore,

Gubbio le appartiene: Ella, n'è il pastore e vi tiene il miglior principato, quello delle anime.

Le più belle memorie ed i monumenti più insigni sono religiosi, anche per questo lato Gubbio è sua. A chi meglio che a Lei può pertanto dedicarsi un libro che ricordi le grandezze e le vicende di Gubbio?

Ma, ad onorare del suo nome queste pagine, un'altra ragione non meno valevole della suddetta si aggiunge, ed è un sentimento di profonda venerazione insieme e di gratitudine sincera.

Ella, Monsignore, con una rara gentilezza e con isquisita bontà, ad una figlia della lontana Inghilterra, venuta costà a studiare tutto quel che in Gubbio v'ha d'interessante e di glorioso, diede aiuto e, nei momenti di sconforto per le difficoltà della non facile impresa, incoraggiamento e sostegno.

Solo un timore mi ange, ed è che il mio lavoro non sia troppo indegno di tanto personaggio.

Ma Ella, Monsignore, come ha saputo incoraggiarmi, così vorrà compatirmi e gradire il mio libro.

Ed in questi sentimenti di ammirazione, di gratitudine e di fiducia sono

Di Lei, Monsignore Reverendissimo,

Devma. obblma. serva,

Laura McCracken.

“ Intra Tupino, e l’acqua che discende
Del colle eletto dal beato Ubaldo,
Fertile costa d’alto monte pende,
Onde Perugia sente freddo e caldo
Da porta Sole ; e dietro le piange
Per greve giogo Nocera con Gualdo.”

—DANTE, *Paradiso*, Canto xi. v. 43-48.

“ Between Tupino, and the wave that falls
From blest Ubaldo’s chosen hill, there hangs
Rich slope of mountain high, whence heat and cold
Are wafted through Perugia’s eastern gate:
And Nocera with Gualdo, in its rear,
Mourn for their heavy yoke.”

—DANTE, *Paradiso*, Canto xi. v. 43-48.

PREFATORY NOTE

To my Readers

IN my little guide to Gubbio I have sought, as far as possible, to render it easy for my readers to find the various monuments and places of interest, by presenting them rather with regard to the sequence of their position than from the point of view of historical or artistic merit. I have also endeavoured to give exact directions as to their locality, and have pointed out the shortest or most agreeable means of reaching them. The principal buildings speak for themselves and offer no difficulties ; but there are many points connected with the history of this little city of the hills that might pass unnoticed in a hasty visit, without a hint from me. I hope the slight historical sketch may afford an insight into the relations of Gubbio, not only with the towns of the immediate neighbourhood, but also with other more powerful cities further afield. Few and scanty are the records. It would seem that to her compatriots all interest in Gubbio set with the sun of her prosperity ; but to visitors from newer worlds and to lovers of antiquity the

unchanged, mediæval aspect of the city must ever prove an unfailing attraction. I shall feel happy if the following pages serve in any way to stimulate a curiosity which otherwise might drift away into better known channels.

The pleasant duty remains to me of offering my most sincere thanks to Monsieur Paul Sabatier, to whom I owe the suggestion that first turned my attention towards Gubbio; and to him also I am indebted for constant and most generous encouragement and advice during the period of my studies. To Monsignore Vittorio Pagliari I tender my most grateful recognition of his great kindness and ability in interpreting the frescoes of S. Agostino, and in deciphering the various inscriptions about the city. To the Marchese Adolfo Barbi my thanks are due for the permission so readily given to read in the Biblioteca Sperelliana; and to the Signora Annunziata Fronduti for the constant kindness and help that her intimate knowledge of her native city afforded me.

L. McC.

PERUGIA,
December 1904.

PRÉFACE

Qui n'a entendu parler du loup de Gubbio ?

Sur les plages bretonnes, comme dans les chaumières de la Sierra Nevada, les grand'mères bercent leurs petits enfants en leur chantant la vieille cité médiévale, avec ses tours et ses créneaux, remplie de gens terrifiés par le grand, vilain, loup.

Or la cité existe, là-bas, dans le coin le plus ensoleillé de l'Ombrie, encore plus médiévale que ne nous la fit rêver l'évocatrice imagination de nos aïeules.

Allez - y en compagnie de Mesdemoiselles McCracken, l'une artiste, l'autre écrivain. Elles vous rediront les légendes franciscaines, pour une fois plus vraies que l'histoire, et les bons évêques et les méchants seigneurs.

Elles vous raconteront la vie des pauvres habitants souvent agenouillés devant la châsse de S. Ubald, parfois debout, révoltés contre leurs tyrans, intéressants toujours, admirables quelquefois.

Elles vous conduiront aux Madones d'Oderisi que Dante chanta, elles finiront peu à peu par

s'insinuer jusqu'à votre cœur et par vous faire aimer ce coin—encore si peu connu—de la divine Italie. Et de cette vision d'un présent qui vous semblera le passé vous emporterez la salutaire sensation que malgré ses tristesses, ses larmes, ses hontes, l'heure présente vaut la peine d'être vécue, et que peut-être il dépend un peu de chacun de nous que demain vaille mieux qu'aujourd'hui.

PAUL SABATIER.

CONTENTS

CHAP.	PAGE
PREFATORY NOTE	ix
PRÉFACE. PAUL SABATIER	xi
I. INTRODUCTORY	I
II. ANTIQUITY OF GUBBIO—LEGENDARY FOUNDATION—EARLY INHABITANTS—FIRST PERIOD OF ASCERTAINED HISTORY.	7
III. GROWTH OF GUBBIO—STRIKING FEATS OF ARMS—BISHOP UBALDO—VICISSITUDES OF THE CITY	22
IV. CONTINUOUS WARS—DISTRESS OF GUBBIO—TEMPORARY TRANQUILLITY—BOLD RESISTANCE TO THE POPE—GUELF FROM NECESSITY.	47
V. RULE OF THE GUELF FACTION—PROSPERITY OF GUBBIO—DEVELOPMENT OF ART—SCHOOL OF PAINTING—RUINOUS EFFECTS OF THE DISSENSIONS IN THE FAMILY OF THE GABRIELLI	66
VI. THE MONTEFELTRI, DUKES OF URBINO—FEDERICO OF MONTEFELTRO—HIS GLORIOUS RULE—TROUBLE UNDER THE BORGIA AND MEDICI POPES—THE SUCCESSION PASSES TO THE DELLA ROVERE—MILITARY PROWESS OF THE EUGUBINI—GUBBIO CEDED TO THE PAPAL STATES	75

CHAP.	PAGE
VII. THE PALAZZO DEI CONSOLI	112
VIII. THE CATHEDRAL—PALAZZO DUCALE	131
IX. ART AND CHURCHES OF GUBBIO	160
X. LIFE OF S. UBALDO	221
XI. THE EUGUBINE TABLES	240
XII. THE FESTA OF THE CERI	262
XIII. LEGEND OF S. FRANCIS AND THE WOLF, AND THE CLOTHING OF S. FRANCIS BY SPADALUNGA	282
XIV. THE UMBRO - ROMAN THEATRE — THE MAUSOLEUM—THE BOTTACCIONE—THE AQUEDUCT	299

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

THE ELEVATION OF THE CERI . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
LA CORTE, SEEN FROM THE GARDEN BELOW	<i>To face p. 5</i>
FEDERICO OF MONTEFELTRO AND HIS WIFE	„ „ 86, 87.
FEDERICO OF MONTEFELTRO, DUCA D'URBINO	„ „ 95
PALAZZO DEI CONSOLI, FROM THE VIA BALDASSINI	„ „ 112
PALAZZO DEI CONSOLI	<i>page 115</i>
THE CATHEDRAL, FROM THE PALAZZO DEI CONSOLI	<i>To face p. 132</i>
THE EPISCOPAL CHAIR	„ „ 140
ARMS OF BISHOP MARCELLO CORVINO	<i>page 143</i>
COURTYARD OF THE DUCAL PALACE .	<i>To face p. 145</i>
LA CORTE, DOOR LEADING TO THE GRAND STAIRCASE	„ „ 147
PORTA S. UBALDO	„ „ 150
THE BARGELLO	„ „ 156
PORTA ROMANA	<i>page 177</i>

THE DOOR OF S. PIETRO	<i>To face p.</i>	187
PORTICO OF STA. MARIA DEI LAICI	<i>page</i>	195
S. FRANCESCO	<i>To face p.</i>	197
S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA	„ „	201
THE CAMIGNANO	„ „	203
VIA APPENNINA	„ „	209
S. GIULIANO	„ „	216
THE CAMIGNANO, DISTANT VIEW OF S. AMBROGIO	„ „	218
THE EUGUBINE TABLES	„ „	240
THE EUGUBINE TABLES	„ „	241
STREET NEAR THE VIA REPOSATI	„ „	276
GUBBIO, FROM MONTE CALVO	<i>page</i>	281
STONE COMMEMORATING THE LEGEND OF S. FRANCIS AND THE WOLF	<i>To face p.</i>	283
FOURTEENTH CENTURY SEAL	<i>page</i>	298
THE UMBRO-ROMAN THEATRE	<i>To face p.</i>	299
THE ARMS OF GUBBIO	<i>page</i>	308
MAP OF GUBBIO, FROM REPOSATI'S "STORIA DELLA ZECCA."	}	<i>At end</i>
MODERN MAP, FROM LUCARELLI'S "MEMORIE DI GUBBIO."		

ERRATA

Dedication, line 1, should read, '*Gubbio Le appartiene: Ellla n'è il pastore e vi tiene il miglior principato,*' &c.

Page 301, line 2 from bottom, for '*Fiesoli*' read '*Fiesole.*'

Page 316, for '*Muratori* (church of), 279, 289' read '*Muratori* (church of), 279, 280, 282.'

Page 316, for '*Onde-dei, Palazzo, 159,*' read '*Ondedei, Palazzo, 159.*'

Page 317, for '*Pius II., Pope, 92*' read '*Pius II., Pope, 93.*'

„ „ 2nd column, line 13, delete '*105.*'

Page 318, 1st column line 3, delete '*130.*'

„ „ for '*Sforzoli ni*' read '*Sforzolini.*'

„ „ for '*Spell, 250*' read '*Spello, 52.*'

„ „ for '*Toschi Moschi*' read '*Toschi Mosca.*'

„ „ for '*Trebudan*' read '*Trebulan.*'

Page 319, 2nd column, line 13, add '*207, 296, 297, 298.*'

„ „ for '*Vineigliata*' read '*Vincigliata.*'

Gubbio

G U B B I O

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THIS strangely interesting, romantic, medieval city is stranded and derelict on the slopes of Monte Ingino, far from the shores of civilisation and all active movement; the tide of modern life has receded far from her walls, leaving her desolate and abandoned, and she lies dormant, like the sleeping beauty, awaiting the magic kiss that shall break the spell and awake her from her slumber of more than a hundred years, and call her back once more to life and energy. We know not how this will be; we can only hope that when the movement comes it will not eliminate her charm nor wipe out all the records of her eventful past. The only form the restless stirrings of the new activity seem to suggest to young Italy, at present, is the re-naming of her streets, as has recently been done—none too happily—in Gubbio, a method calculated to confuse hopelessly the student of history, as, in the enthusiasm for their later compatriots, the municipal authorities have shown themselves

A

only too eager to cancel and forget the debt their city owes to those who founded and rendered her glorious in the remoter past. The crumbling walls climbing the mountain side suggest the walls of Jericho—after the trumpeting—with their riven towers gaping towards the plain; the whole crowned by the almost vanished point of masonry, once the Rocca.

The noble families, so formidable in days gone by to Perugia and other neighbouring cities, exist, for the most part, only in name; their possessions have long passed away from them, but they have left indelible traces on the city. The watch-tower of the Gabrielli, ever stout adherents of the Guelf faction, still rises from the quarter of S. Martino, but has passed into other hands with the extinction of this illustrious house. In the same quarter stands the palace of the Ghibelline Beni, noted for the protection its wide eaves offered to many a harassed follower of their party. Strong are its walls, but hunger lurks within, for this, the oldest and formerly most aristocratic quarter of Gubbio, is now the poorest part of the city, and the Palazzo Beni shelters not one but many families now beneath its roof-tree. The origin of both these famous names carries us back to the tenth and eleventh centuries; tradition whispers a far earlier date. Gubbio perhaps knows them no more, but their blood still flows in the veins of descendants established in other cities of Italy and France, or has passed in the female line to names not less noble and perhaps more fortunate in escaping oblivion.

Profound melancholy is the note of Gubbio.

"Suona la mezzanotte, ora oscura" sang a child in the Via della Zecca, beside the famous Palazzo dei Consoli, and no more appropriate refrain could have expressed the first sensations of gloom and sadness—almost of wickedness—with which that vast structure impresses the traveller who comes from bright little Assisi, with its own peculiar halo of golden light, the traditional "Light of Assisi," no myth, but actual, absolute reality.

The special attraction of Gubbio lies in its great antiquity, being one of the earliest of the Etruscan cities; not one of the principal twelve, it is true, but important nevertheless from the fact of its having been a great sacerdotal centre, like Hebron of the Hebrews. This is attested by the celebrated Eugubine Tables, about which so much has been written and of which so little precise information exists, although they have excited the attention and curiosity of students of Etruscan lore for more than four hundred years.

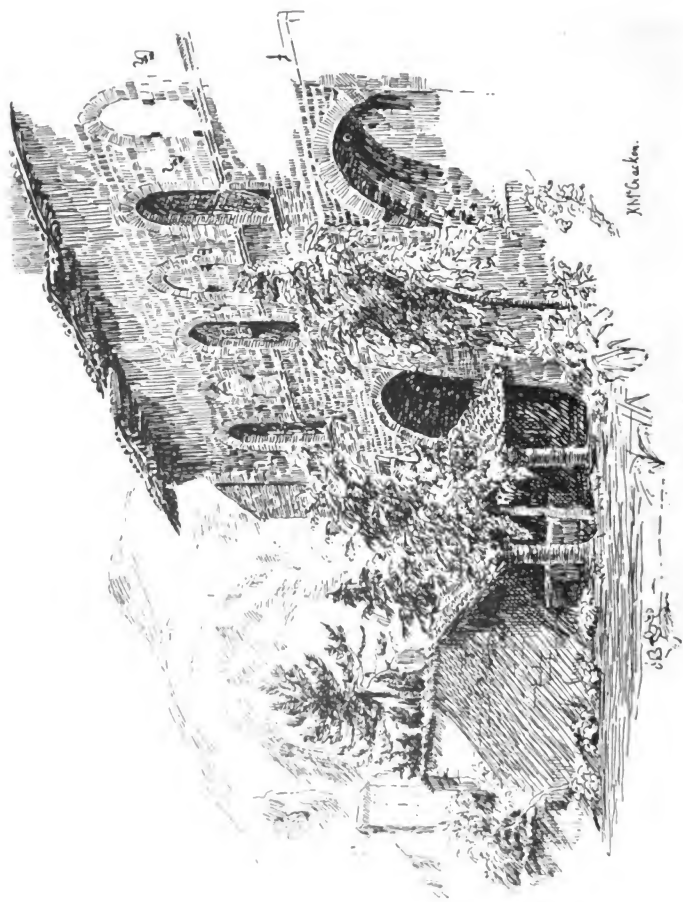
After the Etruscan era Gubbio owes her interest to three other periods: to the Roman domination, to that of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, and to her connection with the great house of Montefeltro of Urbino. Two other names have conferred much on the city, memorable, however, not from the sway of an iron hand, but rather for the initiation of the gentler rule of brotherly love, that of S. Ubaldo, patriotic bishop and patron saint, and that of S. Francesco of Assisi, the friend of Gubbio's saintly bishop, Villano.

In old days, when Gubbio was approached by the carriage road from Perugia or from Città di Castello, entering by the Porta Trasimeno or from

Fossato by the Porta Romana, the traveller could not have failed to be impressed by her beauty and charm, by her picturesque medieval aspect, and by the rich and sombre colour of her roofs and generally pervading tone of deep glowing brown ; but now the little railway from Fossato brings him so quickly through the fertile plain between two ranges of hills, giving here and there a glimpse on the right of the great peaks of the Apennines, which lie immediately behind the ridge on which Gubbio stands, that he finds himself unexpectedly at her very feet before he has time to grasp all at once her striking position.

The city embraces the base of three separate mountains : Monte Ingino in the centre, crowned by the remains of the fortress (la Rocca), and, much more noticeable just below it, the Monastery of S. Ubaldo, fit sanctuary to guard the body of her patron saint and noble citizen. Monte Calvo lies to the left, the Hermitage of S. Ambrogio nestling against its rugged side. To the right we see Monte S. Girolamo and the Franciscan Convent of the same name.

The eye first notes these striking points, next the crumbling walls straggling up the mountain side from east to west, enclosing the city and forming its boundary now as in earlier days. The Cathedral is the highest point within the walls, but loses importance from the remarkable prominence and picturesqueness of the stern medieval Palazzo dei Consoli just below, which with its companion the Palazzo del Pretorio occupies the centre and absolutely dominates the town. From whatever point one glances upwards the eye is



XMP Gucken.

LA CORTE
(Seen from the Garden below)

inevitably attracted by this stupendous architectural triumph. If Ruskin has said of the cities of Italy generally that every street ends in a hill, so may we say with equal exactitude of Gubbio that every street gives a glimpse of the Palazzo dei Consoli.

The traveller is counselled to visit Gubbio first on a bright day in spring or early summer, or in the glow of an autumn sunset; if seen in cold or stormy weather or in the wintry months she will not tempt him perhaps farther than the Piazza della Signoria; or if indeed he ventures up to the Cathedral, its great dimly-lighted vault may scare him away; or maybe the uncanny impression produced by the dilapidated palace of the great Federico of Montefeltro, known as "La Corte," may cause him even to flee from the city itself, leaving her other treasures unvisited. But let him choose the right hour and the most propitious day, and the city will yield the secrets of her interest; or should he chance to arrive on the Vigil of S. Ubaldo, he will see that the city still not only lives and breathes, but palpitates with exuberant life, as she celebrates her remarkable and unique festival of the Elevation of the Ceri, incomparable except perhaps with the procession of Sta. Rosa at Viterbo.

In olden times Gubbio's reputation for hospitality was so great that the rivalry between the nobles as to whom should belong the right of entertaining strangers often led to serious conflicts. Finally, tradition says that rings were attached to a pillar in the market-place, each belonging to some separate aristocratic house, and to whosoever ring a

traveller chanced to fasten his horse to him belonged the right of entertainment. Gubbio has fallen on evil days, but her characteristic instincts remain as strong as ever, as the present writer can warmly testify.

CHAPTER II

ANTIQUITY OF GUBBIO—LEGENDARY FOUNDATION—EARLY INHABITANTS—FIRST PERIOD OF ASCERTAINED HISTORY

THE constant discovery of prehistoric arms and utensils in the caves at the foot of this mountain range testify unerringly to the presence of man in this region during the age of stone, and even if we cannot admit the picturesque legend of the foundation of Gubbio by Gomero Gallo, grandson of Noah, nor the fable of its origin as one of the first five cities built in the peninsula after the universal deluge, we must at least allow it to be one of the most ancient cities of Italy.

By divers Italian writers and local historians its foundation has been variously ascribed to the Siculi, the Greeks, the Etruscans, and even to the Pelasgi, to whom, as a last word, so many undetermined events are attributed, in this case rather unwarrantably, as the Pelasgi hardly remained long enough in Italy to build cities, but merely to occupy and fortify those they found already built. Others have had recourse to mythical personages, as, for instance, to a certain king of Umbria named Giulio Ugubo, Bobio, or Gobio.

Be that as it may, Gubbio certainly owed its

origin to a strong and valorous people of Italic or Sabellic race, under whom its reputation so increased that it was estimated to be one of the most important and flourishing amongst the earliest cities of Umbria. One of the most convincing evidences to this fact is the existence of the famous Bronze Tables, known as the Eugubine Tables, and of certain coins bearing the Umbrian word IKUVINI, also a small portion of Pre-Roman walls—commonly called Cyclopean—remaining on the slopes of Monte Calvo, and of various other relics of that period, such as idols, cinerary urns, implements and utensils, that have been disinterred from time to time during excavations in the city, or have come to light in the cultivation of the fields, which now cover almost the whole of the valley where the ancient Ikuvium is known to have extended ; witness the theatre which is said to have occupied the centre of the city and now lies beyond its walls in a vineyard, under whose soil it slumbered almost forgotten till the end of the eighteenth century.

It is quite impossible to fix an exact, or even an approximate, date for the occupation of Gubbio by the Umbrians, but it would not be far from the truth to venture back to about four centuries before the Roman era, remembering that Cato fixes the foundation of Amelia by the Umbrians—already an important people—381 years previous to the foundation of Rome. We see, therefore, that Gubbio certainly claims an antiquity no less remote than thirty centuries ; the most ambitious antiquarians may therefore be well satisfied without having recourse to Janus or Gomero Gallo.

Sir Henry Layard calls Gubbio the capital of Umbria, and by many of the most trustworthy chroniclers it has been spoken of as a royal city, but no documents exist to prove this fact, though Francesco Piccotti, in his MS. "History of Gubbio,"¹ refers to an underground chamber near the ancient theatre in which the Eugubine Tables were discovered, as a *Sala Regia*.

He also records that 432 years after the destruction of Troy and 750 before the birth of Christ, a certain King Bobio was succeeded in the kingship by his son Gunesse Ronchetti, who erected in honour of his father's memory the mausoleum still to be seen standing not far from the Eugubine theatre. He also relates that the queen of this king caused some marvellous subterranean passages and rooms to be constructed, supported by magnificent arches and lined with costly mosaics; an astrologer having foretold that she would be killed by lightning. The legend does not inform us whether these precautions were efficacious in warding off the hand of fate, neither does the historian account for the absolute ignorance of the position of these mysterious underground ways and chambers at the present day, though he speaks of having himself seen a sculptured lion and leopard recently disinterred in his own time; and it appears indisputable, according to Professor Michel Bréal,² that the Bronze Tables were discovered in the vicinity of the theatre in 1444 in the room referred to above as a *Sala Regia*. As far as is known at the

¹ In the Biblioteca Sperelliana. MS. incomplete, date uncertain.

² *Les Tables Eugubines*, par Michel Bréal. 1875.

present time, all traces of this interesting underworld have vanished, or are slumbering peacefully beneath the luxuriant vineyards and smiling fields of grain that hem the theatre in and creep up to the very walls of the city.

Casting legend aside there can be no doubt whatever that Gubbio enjoyed a most important and perhaps unique position amongst the powerful and flourishing cities of Umbria, witness the testimony of these same Eugubine Tables (of which a more exact description will be given in a later chapter), otherwise it would be impossible to explain how a numerous sacerdotal corporation could have existed there and suitably maintained itself and the temple connected with it. It is not probable that such a community would establish itself in any locality, save near a city rich enough to contribute to its support and powerful enough to defend it in case of need.

It may be asserted, therefore, that Gubbio was the religious centre of ancient Umbria, and that like the Latins at Ferentium and Ariccia, the Etruscans at Volsinium, the Marsites at Marruvio, and the Samnites at Bolano, so the powerful confederation of the Umbrians were accustomed to assemble at certain fixed periods or seasons at Ikuvio to perform the sacrifices to the protecting divinities, and to fulfil the national religious rites. The existence of a mint for the casting of coins, examples of which are still to be seen in the museum beside the Bronze Tables, is a further proof of the flourishing condition of Gubbio in the Umbrian epoch.

It is not certain whether, on the decline of the

power of Umbria and after the wars with the Etruscans, Gubbio became subject to this people or not, or whether she simply entered into a confederation with them. Bonazzi, in his *Storia di Perugia*,¹ refers to the Etruscans having confined the Umbrians strictly within the narrow territory which bears their name, where, however, they remained free and independent, so independent in fact that in vain may one seek for an Etruscan inscription within its limits. But what can be indubitably affirmed is that on the rise of the Roman power, and when the legions of the future conquerors of the world had swept through the famous Cimerian forest, subduing the Etruscans, Gubbio and Camerino were the first two Umbrian cities to conclude an alliance with the Roman Republic, for Cicero refers to them in terms which show that they enjoyed certain privileges which were never accorded to any people that had ever been the declared enemies of Rome. Thenceforward Gubbio was accounted a notable Roman municipality of the third order; that is, she was allowed to preserve her own laws, like all the privileged cities, and the Ikuvinii were aggregated to the Clustumian tribe and declared citizens of Rome.

From this time forward Gubbio appears to have furnished the Roman Republic with a considerable military contingent, and is mentioned by Silvius Italicus² as one of the cities that afforded valuable aid to Scipio Africanus in the wars with Hannibal.

After the expedition to Africa, however, three

¹ Bonazzi, *Storia di Perugia* (1875, 1879).

² Silvius Italicus, Lib. VIII.

positive facts only are known which refer to Gubbio. In the year 586¹ of Rome the custody of Gentius, king of Illyria, with his wife and son, and his brother Caravantius, was confided to the Ikuvini after their conquest and capture by the praetor L. Anicius, who in consequence obtained the honour of a triumph.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Gubbio espoused the cause of Cæsar, the simple notice of the approach of Curio with only three Cæsarian cohorts being sufficient to induce Termo, Pompey's praetor, with his five cohorts, to abandon the city without a struggle, "fearing the ill-will of the inhabitants," writes Cæsar in his Commentaries.

In the disastrous civil war which ended with the ruin of Perugia for the time being, Gubbio was occupied by Agrippa, one of Octavian's generals, in order to prevent its occupation and fortification by the army of Lucius Antonius, and, in case of need, to protect Salvidenus, Cæsar's other general, who had already invested Perugia, from the possible attacks of Asinius Pollio, Plancus, and Ventidius, praetorians of Mark Antony, who, inspired by Fulvia, had already advanced from northern Italy and encamped in Picenum with the object of assisting the brother of their general.² This occupation of Gubbio was a useless precaution, because the lieutenants of Mark Antony, being uncertain of his intentions, were extremely unwilling to aid the unfortunate Lucius, especially as they greatly feared that the Triumvirate, the pivot of militarism, was about to be dissolved. Ventidius

¹ Titus Livius. Dec. V., Lib. v., cxxxvi.

² Mentioned by Appian in his work, *De Bello Civili*, Lib. I.

First Period of Ascertained History 13

fled to Rimini, Asinius to Ravenna, and Plancus to Spoleto, letting future events take their own course.

Bonazzi¹ writes that these three generals were the promoters of the reconciliation of the Triumvirate in a Congress assembled at Gubbio. Moroni² also mentions this fact, but there appears to be some doubt whether this city has not been confounded with another of a somewhat similar name, because Appian³ writes that the city to which the soldiers invited the Triumvirs was "urbs Gabiorum" between Rome and Preneste.

The name of Gubbio, however, also occurs in fragments of L. Cornelius Sisenna (who lived in the time of Sulla), in the works of Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy; but it is extremely difficult to decide whether they refer to the Umbrian city or to some other now unknown, the name having been so variously written in the ancient codices and with such diversity of spelling, either through the carelessness or eccentricity of the copyists, that until the sixteenth century there was no unanimity whatever. Later Eugubine writers, however, and amongst them the learned Steuchi, have decided in favour of their native city.⁴

After the fall of the Roman Republic, Gubbio under the Empire was numbered in the sixth province of Italy. The first imperial governor resident in the city was Cneus Satrius Rufus, who is known to have caused splendid representations to

¹ Bonazzi, *Storia di Perugia* (1875, 1879).

² Moroni, *Dizionario d'Erudizione Storia-Ecclesiastica*.

³ *De Bello Civili*. Lib. V.

⁴ Lucarelli, *Memorie di Gubbio*.

be held in the Eugubine theatre, after having restored it at his own expense, as we see from the inscription which still exists in the Palazzo dei Consoli, and to which we shall refer later on, in the chapter describing the above-named municipal buildings. At the same time he appears to have also restored the temple of Diana, of which no traces now remain.

It is known that Gubbio boasted the possession of temples to Janus, Mars, Apollo, Vesta, and Pallas, as well as to Diana; there was also an important temple dedicated to a deity called Jupiter Gradivus or Grabovius; and in the neighbourhood of Scheggia, a few miles from Gubbio, and near the Flaminian Way, the famous temple of Jupiter Apeninus, which was still in a flourishing condition up to the sixth consulate of Honorius; of this last a few remains may still be seen, which were brought to light during the excavations instigated by Pope Clement XI. in the early years of the eighteenth century.

It is uncertain when and how Christianity was introduced into Gubbio. A pious legend affirms that it was preached by two holy men of the city named Agabius and Secondinus, who were subsequently nominated by Pope Dionysius its first bishops in the year 260; but even Sarti, the learned historian, himself a monk, considers it difficult to prove this fact historically. Divers chroniclers have assigned as varying dates as A.D. 262 and 324 for the establishment of the first bishopric in Gubbio, but it is more probable that Christianity became general only in the time of the Emperor Constantine. Historians appear to be agreed, however, in assert-

First Period of Ascertained History 15

ing that the see of Gubbio was from the first independent, as the signatures of the bishops of Gubbio are to be frequently found in the acts of the Councils and Synods of the Holy See, of which we have later an indisputable proof in a document dated 1057, an enumeration of the independent churches or suffragans of the Holy See.

From this time forward for several centuries the history of Gubbio is limited almost to the names of its bishops, and even these are in some cases apocryphal. The first bishop of whom we have absolute historical certainty is Decentius, to whom a famous letter¹—still existing—was addressed by Pope Innocent I., which bears the date A.D. 416. In the time of this Decentius, Rome was sacked by the Goths, who, according to Piccotti, also ravaged Gubbio during their progress through Umbria; but other chroniclers consider this improbable, since the direct route from Ravenna to Rome does not pass through Gubbio, and the Goths under Alaric are recorded to have descended in a rapid march upon the Eternal City, and to have destroyed other less important cities in the Marches (Marche).²

Gubbio, like all the other cities of Italy, had to submit to the barbaric rule of first the Herulians and then the Goths, but there is no record of any special sufferings endured by her during this period, although an ancient writer relates that Odoacer, after the first victory of Theodoric, having retired towards Rome, hoping to defend himself within her gates, but finding those gates closed against him, returned to Ravenna, sacking every city on his northward

¹ Sarti, *De Episcopis Eugubinis*. Biblioteca Sperelliana.

² *Cronaca Antica*. Lucarelli, *op. cit.*

passage, and amongst others Gubbio, for no better reason than that she showed herself too lukewarm, "neither friend nor foe." There is, however, no positive proof of this disaster.

During the reign of Theodoric and his successors history is silent about Gubbio until we come to Totila, under whose harsh treatment the unfortunate city was almost entirely destroyed, her companions in misfortune being Perugia, Assisi, and almost all the small cities of Umbria. She had her share of suffering also during the sanguinary wars that devastated Italy when the Goths were struggling for the domination of the peninsula against the Empire of the West, and she, in common with Perugia and Spoleto, was occupied by the armies of Constantine, a general of the imperial faction sent by Belisarius into Umbria.

But the Goths determined to drive him out, and whilst Perugia was sustaining a siege of seven years, which ended, it is true, by her fall and the death of her brave bishop, S. Ercolano, Gubbio, which appears to have made common cause with the other cities against Totila, was herself besieged by one of his generals and utterly destroyed, not without the loss of her bishop also and of many citizens. The chroniclers narrate that the city was so utterly demolished that an embassy of "notable citizens" travelled to Byzantium to represent their miserable condition to the Emperor, and beg him to aid them in rebuilding her. They add that the new city was erected higher up the slopes of Monte Ingino for greater security, and that a fortress was raised upon its summit uniting two rocks. We can well imagine the relief brought by the defeat and death of Totila

First Period of Ascertained History 17

to the unfortunate Eugubini, scattered amongst the caves and on the bleak mountain sides ; they doubtless looked upon it as a just expiation of his cruelty towards their unhappy city.

In the Lombard invasion Gubbio was not one of the cities conquered by Alboin (569), but remained for the time being subject to the Greek Exarch of Ravenna. About this period she began to separate herself from the other cities of Umbria, and entered into a league for mutual defence with the five cities of the Marches politically dependent on the Greek rule, known as the new or Mediterranean Pentapolis, which were Jesi, Cagli, Fossombrone, Urbino with Montefeltro and later Osimo. She subsequently became a bone of contention between the Lombards and the Greeks, being taken and re-taken during long and sanguinary struggles. For some time she formed part of the Lombard Duchy of Spoleto, but for a long period she remained under Greek domination, in company with the other cities of the two Pentapoli, until finally she passed under the imperial sway after the successful expedition of the Roman exarch.

In the first half of the seventh century began the revolution of the Latin races against the Greek authority, and in 619 the Exarch Eleutharius declared himself independent, and set out on his march towards Rome, but was killed on the way by his own soldiers at Luceoli, a city close to Gubbio. The Popes favoured these national aspirations, being desirous to constitute Rome into an ecclesiastical state and withdraw her from the imperial dominion. Finally in 726, after nearly a

century of fermentation, the publication of the celebrated edict of Leo Isauricus formed the pretext for a general insurrection, and Gubbio was amongst the first of the cities of central Italy to regain her freedom.

During the subsequent struggles between the Popes and Emperors, and whilst the Lombard kings were striving on their side to reunite the whole of Italy under one sceptre, Gubbio was at various times invested by them, first under Luitbrand, then Astolfo, and finally by Desiderius in the year 772, during which last invasion the ancient Umbro-Roman theatre was destroyed, having been fortified and used for purposes of defence. But Pope Adrian I. having appealed to the French king Charlemagne to aid him against the invasion of Desiderius, the Lombard power was for ever crushed in 774, in return for which timely succour the French acquired the dominion of Upper and Central Italy, except the Exarchate and the two Pentapoli, which were presented by Charlemagne to the Pope; Gubbio was included in this gift.

In the spring of the year 800 Charlemagne, returning from Rome, where he had been crowned by Pope Leo III. Emperor of the West, halted one day at Gubbio, and, flattered by the welcome accorded him, graciously consented to take the city under his protection, loading the inhabitants with gifts. Tradition says that he presented to the city a most precious relic, the finger of S. John the Baptist, and that a church was built for his veneration, where now stands that of S. Francesco; but this is doubtful, since it is positively known

First Period of Ascertained History 19

that in the time of S. Francis of Assisi the house and garden of his friend Spadalunga occupied this spot, and that he gave a part of his "orto" (cultivated land) for the building of the Church of S. Francesco. It is more probable that the church built to contain the relic was erected where still stands the first Cathedral of Gubbio, dedicated now, as then, to S. John the Baptist, who has always been (probably dating from this gift) one of the chief protectors of the city. It is further reported that some of Charlemagne's barons, pleased with the welcome given them by the Eugubini and still more by the possession of the lands and castles assigned to them by the Emperor, established themselves in Gubbio; amongst them one Amanzio, to whom the illustrious family of the Pamfili trace their origin.

Although from this time Gubbio ostensibly formed part of the Ecclesiastical State in virtue of its donation by Charlemagne to the Pope, the Emperor appears, however, to have retained a superior jurisdiction over the cities so given. It was only on the decay of the Carlovingian power under the weak Ludovic II. that Pope Nicholas I. could claim them for the sole possession of the Church. However, Gubbio was not at this period much affected by subjection either to Pope or Emperor, except in the matter of tribute paid. She governed herself under her bishop or count like many other cities of Italy, her powerful abbots exercising temporal jurisdiction over their own territory, and so, gradually advanced towards the formation of the Free Commune, which led later on to the election of magistrates known under the

names of Consul and Podestà, who severally protected the interests of the people and nobles.

In feudal times the Count was usually the governor in cities where the authority was exercised by military rule, and this title passed from father to son in direct line ; there were also rural counts dependent on the supreme governor or conte cittadino for protection in time of war, but who had the right of free jurisdiction in their own county. But in Gubbio the title does not appear to have been hereditary, for the old documents disclose the names of many different families who at various times held sway over the city ; thus it would appear that from motives of wise policy the emperor or duke of the province thought fit to distribute the power now in one direction now in another ; hence the great number of Eugubini who in the following century owned the title of count.

Amongst the earliest Counts of Gubbio we may recall the names of Gabrielli, della Branca, della Serra, Coccorano, &c. ; amongst the feudal abbots those of S. Pietro and S. Donato. Some of the local historians hint that the people already began to feel the need of withdrawing the power by degrees from the hands of their feudatories, abbots, and bishops ; but how this evolution was effected ; what conflicts the people may have had with their oppressors ; what heroic names distinguished themselves in these struggles ; what resistance they unitedly opposed to the hordes of Saracens and Hungarians who infested Central Italy at this truly barbaric period ; it would be impossible to record, for not only are documents, but even tradition is

First Period of Ascertained History 21

wanting. The history of Gubbio from 800 to 1000 is absolutely obscure. We can only quote the words of Cantù : " This age, so called the age of iron, appears to have been less destructive than certain centuries of gold, if we reflect that it found the population for the most part slaves, but left them men, capable of becoming at no distant period citizens." ¹

From the almost complete silence of these two centuries we may catch a distant clamour of victory as she repelled an incursion of the Saracens ; but alas ! also that she was in great part destroyed by the Hungarians in 917, later rebuilt, however, on the same area by her citizens, prominent amongst whom is mentioned a Pietro d'Amanzio, a descendant of the Amanzius who established himself in Gubbio in the time of Charlemagne. We have also, according to Sarti and Ughelli, the names of eight bishops, but we learn little of their deeds except that of one Arsenio in 855, who " strove with other ecclesiastics to substitute the intriguing Cardinal Anastasio in the Papal Chair in place of Benedict III., but without success."

In the year 962, after the siege of S. Leo and Montefeltro by Otho I., who had been called to liberate Italy and the Papal dominions from the barbarity of Berengarius and his son Adalbert, both of whom he vanquished, causing the latter to fly from the peninsula, many of his followers, like those of Charlemagne, came to settle in Gubbio, transmitting their valiant blood into the veins of many of the illustrious families whose names in later days shed glory on their city.

¹ Cantù, *Storie Minore*.

CHAPTER III

GROWTH OF GUBBIO—STRIKING FEATS OF ARMS—BISHOP UBALDO—VICISSITUDES OF THE CITY

THE most glorious and prosperous period in the history of Gubbio begins with the eleventh century. The population increased, she gave birth to some of her noblest citizens; many of her finest buildings were erected; just laws were established, and she was long able to enjoy her liberty and independence notwithstanding occasional discords within and plots without to undermine her freedom. From this time forward Guelfs and Ghibellines held alternate sway; these factions are like the woof and warp in a weaver's loom, each pulls strongly in its several direction, and its bias depends where the strain is greatest. Now Pope, now Emperor, was in the ascendant, and each faction has left its evidences strongly imprinted either on the architecture or the legislation of the city; the Palazzo dei Consoli is crowned with Guelf battlements, but the Palazzo del Pretorio guards jealously the Ghibelline Diplomas of the Emperors.

Of the noble families who allied themselves with the Ghibelline faction were the Salinguerra, Benti-voglio, Salimbene, and later the Raffaelli, Morosini,

and Carbonana. Those who upheld the Guelf principles were the Gabrielli, the Conti della Branca, and the Conti della Serra, down to the occupation by Count Antonio of Montefeltro.

Gubbio is, however, singularly poor in documents relating to her history during the first century after A.D. 1000; as usual the only hints that we can glean are from her episcopal records; but it seems likely that she reformed her laws and gradually transformed herself into a free Commune in the eleventh century. In imitation of Rome she elected two Consuls every year, "who maintained justice, quiet, and peace," or if not yet the *magistro consolare* or consul, at least the *vicecomes* or *Giudici ordinari dei liberi*, who received investiture direct from the Emperor.¹ Gubbio always had leanings towards the formation of a republic, and was in a state of constant turmoil and struggle with her bishops and feudal lords.

Amongst the most important of the Eugubine bishops in the early years of the eleventh century, Ludolfo Pamfili, who was consecrated about 1019, should not be forgotten. He had commanded a German squadron; but subsequently, being converted, he became a hermit, and to him is attributed the foundation of the monastery of Fonte Avellana.

The story is thus related :—

"Wandering, he arrived at a spot between Monte Catria and Aguto, and finding a fountain of pure water, the voice of God directed him to remain. Here he built a chapel and dedicated it to S. Andrew the Apostle, but it afterwards grew into

¹ Hegel.

the monastery of Sta. Croce of Avellana, A.D. 1000." "Ludolfo was the founder of an Order called for their simplicity the Ordine Colombina."

He became Bishop of Gubbio "under Pope Sergius IV., Henry II. of Bavaria being Emperor." A contract preserved in the archives of the Cathedral of Gubbio demonstrates decisively that he was Bishop of Gubbio. "Pietro Damiani,¹ another monk of Avellana, afterwards Cardinal and Administrator, if not Bishop, of Gubbio under Pope Gregory VII., in 1073, restored the cult of the Madonna, and inaugurated fastings on Fridays in commemoration of the Holy Cross, which was observed every Friday at Avellana; and the Monastery was henceforward called Sta. Croce."²

Here Dante at a later period composed a great part of his *Divina Commedia*. According to the *Cronache Camaldolase* he uses Avellana in his description of Paradise (Canto xxi. v. 108-111).³ Dante is known also to have stayed at Gubbio "in the house of Guelfoni and at the Castle of Colmolaro; and Bosone Raffaelli in his castle twice welcomed his friend Alleghieri; from here he retired to Avellana."

¹ "In quel loco fu'io Pier Damiano;
E Pietro peccator fu nella casa
Di Nostra Donna in sul lito Adriano."
— DANTE, *Paradiso*, canto xxi. v. 121-123.

"Pietro Damiano there was I y'clept
Pietro the Sinner, when before I dwelt
Beside the Adriatic, in the house
Of our blest Lady."

² Hegel.

³ See chapter on Convent of S. Ubaldo, page 154.

Piccotti further relates with delightful local pride in the circumstance that "in this same hermitage in the time of Pietro Damiani there was a monk named Guido of Arezzo, who, learned in music, knew that the Greeks had certain syllables by which they regulated the composition of harmony to the use of the voice, and, desirous that the Latin tongue should also have the use of such a rule in order more sweetly to sing the psalms and hymns to Blessed God, he recommended himself with fervour to the Lord, who inspired him with such grace that he was able to find in the Latin language syllables convenient to this use ; and it was revealed to him that in the hymn of S. John the Baptist (*sit queant laxis*) he would be able to find the syllables which he desired.¹ Thus, with much study and pondering, he found the six syllables which are now used by all musicians as the first elements or rudiments of the art—*ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la* ; he also composed the rules of the hands, and the keys in which music should be written, from which the Latin Church has since had the benefit in the sweetness of its music, as much for the human voice as for the harmony of instruments ; which ingenious invention having had its origin in the territory of Gubbio, a just thing it is that here mention should be made of it."

Other bishops worthy of mention are Roffredo,

¹ "*Ut queant laxis—resonare fibris
Mira gestorum—famuli tuorum
Solvi polluti—labri reatum.*"

—SANCTE IOANNES.

The first syllable of every hemistich forms the note of the musical scale.

who was present at the famous Roman Council in 1059 held by Pope Nicholas II. when he promulgated the decree (which originated in the brain of Hildebrand) limiting the nomination of the Popes to the College of Cardinals. Also Rudolfo Gabrielli (1061), celebrated in ecclesiastical history for the fifteen thousand stripes he daily inflicted on himself, in imitation and rivalry of the famous Loricatus. And finally S. Pietro Damiani, who for several months acted as Administrator of the See of Gubbio, after having refused the bishopric of Ostia, preferring the solitude and retirement of Avellana, whence many of the subsequent bishops, his disciples, were drawn.

In 1098 the insignia of Godfrey of Bouillon, "the rastrello and lilies," were added to the arms of Gubbio, a thousand Eugubine soldiers having accompanied him to the wars in the Holy Land after Pope Urban II. had preached a crusade inviting all Christians to proceed to the conquest of the Holy Sepulchre. The men of Gubbio went under the leadership of Girolamo Gabrielli, a scion of the famous house that played so large a part in the local history of its native city, accompanied by twenty-two other noble youths, marching under the standard of the Norman princes, Bohemond and Tancred.

Of the arms of Gubbio previous to this date Piccotti writes: "Rome having liberated herself from the tyranny of her kings, willingly accorded her friendship to those cities who were also desirous of maintaining their freedom, and permitted them to use the insignia peculiar to the citizens of Rome, which was a scarlet shield (*l'insignia proprio al Popolo*

Romano, che era uno scudo vermiglio). To this each city added some special sign of her own—Florence the lily, Perugia the griffin, but Gubbio took the ‘five white mountains which represent the five adjacent hilltops,’ or perhaps the five highest peaks of the Apennines, which are to be found in the territory of Gubbio, namely, the two mountains of Cantiano and Catria, Monte Aguto, that of Scheggia, and that of Costacciaro, in the midst of which, in sign of dominion, is the mount of S. Ubaldo; it may be that they represent one mountain-top only with five rocks, as may be seen in an ancient seal which is preserved in the Palazzo, and which is said to be Monte Ingino, in which are to be found five rocks or distinct points, *or perhaps for some other reason*,” generously suggests the old chronicler.

We do not know what part Gubbio took in the struggle between Ardoin and Henry II., but according to Bonazzi it appears certain that in 1037 she formed part of the Empire of Conrad the Salian, being included in the province of Fermo along with Perugia and Todi. And it was at this time that the factions of the Imperialists against the Papal party, afterwards known as Ghibellines and Guelfs, first came into notice. It is certain that in 1065 Gubbio had to sustain her first municipal struggle allied to Perugia and Orvieto, already Guelf, against the Ghibellines of Bevagna, Todi, Amelia, and Foligno. In the successive period of the long struggle between Pope Gregory VII. and the Emperor Henry IV. we must conclude that Gubbio favoured the latter, since Reposati thus writes: “In the second half of the eleventh

century the Church was much harassed (*bersagliata*) by the Emperor, who was by no means well disposed towards the Pope, and who reduced to subjection the greater number of the principal cities, amongst which was Gubbio." In 1080 Gubbio was anew allied to Perugia, and whilst assisting Florence was besieged by Henry IV. Again in 1091, in conjunction with Perugia, Orvieto, and Spoleto, she fought against the Imperialists of Foligno, Todi, Sutri, Nepi, and others.

Almost all the historians of Gubbio prefer to assign to the first years of the twelfth century the establishment of the consular system of government and of the two republican chambers or councils, but there are no trustworthy documents referring to the creation of these magistrates till the year 1163, when we find a Diploma of Frederick Barbarossa. The general history of the Communes of Italy serves to confirm this hypothesis, for even the powerful Commune of Pisa, so much nearer the highway of civilisation than the mountain fastness of Gubbio, has no record of this popular magistrature previous to 1080, Perugia not before 1130. Unfortunately, most of the earlier documents perished in a fire which occurred in the Archivio during the revolutions of 1350 and 1384, so that nothing can be affirmed with exactitude. It may be interesting to my readers if I quote here from Lucarelli a summary of the republican constitution of the Middle Ages.¹

"The citizenship was divided into two classes, the *nobles* and the *proletariat* (the second division

¹ Lucarelli. *Op. cit.*

appeared later than the first), and the latter was organised into corporations of *arts* or *trades*. The government, aristocratic in the beginning, became mixed towards the end of the twelfth century, and finally in the fourteenth century democratic. There were two Councils or Chambers—one *general*, composed of five hundred citizens, nobles and plebeians, who had the rights of government over the city, and in whom was the supreme power ; the other *secret* (or *di credenza*, as it was named), composed of magistrates, or of twelve learned men (*sapienti*), three chosen for each quarter, to whom were entrusted those decrees of the government which it was necessary to conduct secretly, as for instance the more delicate affairs of the Republic which it was not thought fit to confide to the general public. The Consuls, from their origin down to 1203, had the supreme direction of the government, that is, the executive and judicial power. In the beginning they were *two* in number, later *four*, lastly *eight*, one half, noble, the other, popular ; half Guelf, half Ghibelline, so that neither party should preponderate. They remained in office at first a year, afterwards six months, and they were called *consules majores* to distinguish them from the purely municipal Consuls or *Priori*. In 1203 the Podestà was substituted for the Consuls, and to him was entrusted the maintenance of the government, and the administration of justice. The Podestà was always a noble ; first he was chosen from amongst the local nobility, but later, in consequence of a popular rebellion, it was decided in 1249 that he should be a foreigner (that is, the inhabitant of another city).

He remained in office a year, and later for only six months, and was assisted by a judge in the administration of justice. But the democratic government was so much in the ascendant that about the year 1258 they insisted on having a magistrate of their own, to whom they gave the name of *Captain of the People*. The duties of this magistrate were to defend the people from the insolence of the nobles, to conduct the army in war time, and to put down tumults. He had in fact almost the same attributes as the ancient Roman tribune. The magistrature, not of the government but of the municipality, was composed of *eight Consuls* called *Minori*, and also *Priori*, the first of whom was called the *Gonfaloniere* and the second *Collega*. They remained in office *two months* only. The *Gonfaloniere* presided over the councils, conducted the communal finances, the rural police, and had in company with the *Priori* all the other attributes of which one reads in the statutes (*Stat. Vecchio*, rub. 61, l. i.; *Stat. Nuovo*, rub. 9). The elections to all the offices of the magistrature were made by the General Council, not directly, but by delegates of a hundred of the principal citizens, by the captains of the Corporations (*Arti*), &c. (*Stat. Vecchio*, rub. 61, l. i.).” Up to this point the communal constitution of Gubbio presents no special features, nor differs much from that of the other municipalities of Italy; indeed, it appears to have been copied entirely from the Great Republic of Florence. But where it varies radically from all others is in the singularity of an Extraordinary Magistrate, who was elected in the month of May (about the 12th or 13th), for the festival of S.

Ubaldo, and remained in office for twelve days, under the name of *Contestabile*. The origin of this strange magistrature is unknown, but we know that the *Contestabile* had to be noble, that he was invested with *absolute power* for twelve days, and united in himself all the supreme powers, including the administration of justice ; he became in fact a real and absolute sovereign for the short time during which his office lasted. He was assisted in his functions by a secondary magistrate, to whom was given the name of *Alfiere*, and for the administration of justice he made use of the actual Podestà when a special judge was not elected. The privilege of electing a *Contestabile* lasted in Gubbio till 1808, was re-established for two years during the restoration of the pontifical power, and finally ceased altogether by the publication of an Edict of Cardinal Consalvi."

In the first years of the twelfth century we find Pope Paschal II. addressing a letter to Henry V. demanding the relinquishment of various cities in the Marches and in Umbria, amongst them Gubbio. Great disorders seemed to have prevailed in the city, since the presence of the celebrated Cardinal Giovanni of Gubbio, pontifical legate in Umbria, was required to tranquillise the disturbances caused by the rural feudatories. In one of these tumults (1118) the quarter of S. Andrew was burnt, and many people perished. The Canonica of S. Mariano, of which Ubaldo was Prior (later Bishop of Gubbio and now titular saint), was destroyed, and we read that "fresh hatreds arose between the citizens and the Castellani"; "Pope Calixtus II. being on the Pontifical throne."

It is not clear whether Gubbio was continuously either Guelf or Ghibelline during the reign of Lothair II. and Conrad III. (1125-1152), but she appears certainly to have been Guelf before 1138, because we hear of her being withdrawn from the subjection of the Church at that date by Conrad III. At this time she was extremely prosperous, and was able to keep her neighbours in check. In the year 1154 she gained a notable victory over eleven other cities, who besieged her with such terribly unequal odds up to her very walls, that perhaps the courage of the Eugubini might have been insufficient to save the city had not the prayers and good counsels of their noble and patriotic bishop, Ubaldo, emboldened them to resist to the very uttermost; for it is reported that the enemy numbered forty to one of the Eugubini. It is related in the life of S. Ubaldo that he went in solemn procession thrice round the walls, and "having devoutly supplicated the Lord God for the saving of his people," at last the hour of the final struggle arrived. Full of faith, and having exhorted his people, he encouraged them to believe that to them victory was sure. Strengthened by his benediction the valiant citizens went forth to combat, whilst the bishop ascended to the roof of the cloister to gaze upon the encounter, as Moses of old watched the battle of the Amalekites, to see how the tide of strife would flow. "And that God," quaintly relates the Blessed Teobaldo, "who at the prayer of Moses had exterminated the Amalekites by the arms of the Israelites, at the prayers of Ubaldo put to flight all those enemies of the

Eugubini." Hardly had they come to blows than the enemy, turning their backs upon the camp, took to precipitate flight, throwing away their arms, desirous only of saving themselves, and, caring for nothing else, they abandoned all their baggage to the men of Gubbio.

"Yes, He who by the hand of His Angel had smitten the army of Sennacherib, and at the prayer of King Hezekiah had in one night put to death a hundred and eighty-five thousand men, at the prayer of Ubaldo, by the power of His mighty arm, overcame with fear that immense multitude of people. And He who¹ lastly, in one day, with three hundred soldiers of Gideon, had struck down an unspeakable number of the Midianites, with Ubaldo's armed men put to flight the enemies of Gubbio. And what is not less marvellous, with such fear were these assailed that, returned to their own houses, they trembled still, and, for excess of fear, they secreted themselves in their own rooms."

The Festival of the Ceri, which occurs on the Vigil of S. Ubaldo (15th May), is believed to commemorate this victory. The procession is so remarkable and unique that its description merits a separate chapter. The eleven cities thus vanquished were Perugia, Spoleto, Fabriano, Assisi, Città di Castello, Cagli, Bettona, Urbino, Sassoferrato, Fossato, and Valmarcola.

Piccotti gives a slightly different account of the siege and encounter, which, however, is interesting as showing the methods of assault employed at that period. He ascribes this attack to the machinations of the disaffected citizens, who, banished from Gubbio for various causes, had stirred up

animosity and rivalry against their native city. Perugia, who was ever ready to attack a neighbour, and needed but the slightest pretext to go to war at any time, willingly lent an ear to the seditious proposal of these exiles. The other ten cities, equally delighted to have the opportunity of obtaining an increase of territory, under the pretext of avenging previous insults and personal affronts, readily entered into a league against the unfortunate Gubbio, which in vain sought aid from Siena and Florence; these were, however, much too occupied just then in a confederation against Poggibonsi. The following is Piccotti's account of the attack:—

“Besieged up to their very gates, the Eugubini saw a machine called an Argano raised against their southern gate to hurl stones into the city. They tried to make terms, but the conditions offered were too hard. Ubaldo encouraged them to the utmost of his power, exhorting them to be at peace with each other and to forgive their enemies. Terribly harassed and almost at the last gasp, they determined to make a sortie from the Porta S. Angelo (now Porta S. Ubaldo) and descended into the Camignano, and spread themselves out over Monte S. Giacomo (now Monte Calvo) and attacked the confederations on the further side. These, supposing that the Florentines had come to the aid of the Eugubini, fled in a panic, whilst those citizens who remained in the city, encouraged by Ubaldo, made another sortie aided by the old men, women and children, and so gained the victory.”

After this repulse new walls were begun, which comprised the present circuit.

Nor was this the only peril run by the Eugubini during the episcopate of S. Ubaldo. Frederick Barbarossa, successor of Conrad, came into Italy to punish the Lombard provinces and cities which had revolted against the Imperial sway. He had been invited by the cities of Comaschi and Lodigiani to assist them in freeing themselves from their intolerable slavery to the Milanese. Having been crowned by Adrian IV., he proceeded against Spoleto, and having burned and sacked that city, infuriated by their resistance, he marched northwards, terrifying all the cities on his way and demanding large sums of money from each, and from Gubbio in particular a sum so large that she was unable to pay it. At this juncture two new Consuls were nominated, making four in all, two only being found insufficient to support the burden of the government.

The Emperor meanwhile had arrived as near as Gualdo, at the eastern extremity of the valley, and the Eugubini, justly alarmed at finding so large a German force almost at their doors, determined to send an embassy to treat with him, and to beg him to take their city under his protection, and therewith remit the fine he had imposed on them. Frederick was so greedy of power and so formidable an enemy that subjection to him was better than opposition, and the Pope was not in a position to defend Gubbio and other small cities against the Emperor.

The Eugubine ambassadors were chosen from amongst the most important persons of the city, both lay and religious, in order to obtain better treatment and recognition and easier access to the Emperor ; but at the moment of setting out, such

terrifying accounts reached Gubbio of the burning, sacking, and destroying of many more castles and townships, that their hearts failed them for fear, and they knew not what to do. As a last resort they applied to their bishop, Ubaldo, who "infirm in bed was found." He, ever ready to serve his people, willingly agreed to accompany the embassy, and set out for Frederick's camp between Gualdo and Nocera. The Emperor received him readily and with great courtesy, the fame of his sanctity being already known to Barbarossa. They remained two hours together, relates Pietro di Nolato, and so well did Ubaldo execute his mission that Frederick willingly acceded to the request of the Eugubini, and took them under his protection, accepting but a small sum of money as tribute, and "sent back the embassy loaded with gifts" (1155), and passed on by the Flaminian Way without touching Gubbio. The Blessed Teobaldo thus describes the meeting, and we must remember that he wrote whilst Frederick Barbarossa was still living, and, in fact, takes the precaution of dedicating his "Life of S. Ubaldo" to the Emperor.

"Returning from Rome into Germany the glorious Emperor of the Romans, Frederick, induced by the enemies of the city, turned towards Gubbio. These enemies made every effort by prayers and presents to induce the mind of the victorious Emperor to raze the city to the ground, and to butcher the inhabitants. But Omnipotent God, Who did not lose sight of the Eugubini, whom He had confided to the care of such a father (Ubaldo), did not allow the mind of the

most benignant of emperors to fail in clemency and in pity. Therefore God caused Ubaldo to enter into favour with the most noble Emperor when he presented himself for the salvation of his people, or, if you prefer to have it so, God caused the Emperor to look favourably on Ubaldo so that he recognised his sanctity, reverently welcomed him, honourably treated with him, and all that he asked willingly granted him. To whom besides the generous Emperor presented a silver cup and many other gifts, and with bent knees submissively recommended himself to his prayers, and from him, by his humility, obtained his desired blessing. Lastly, the good Emperor, desirous of placing the Eugubini hostages into the custody of the holy Bishop, and the Bishop being willing to receive them, in order to procure peace, he (the Emperor) begged with submission to take in exchange the young great-nephew of Ubaldo, which was freely granted to him." The above-named *pronepote* of the Bishop Ubaldo must refer to a Baldassini, who is reputed to have served under Frederick Barbarossa in 1160.

In the museum in the Palazzo del Pretorio exists a gilded wooden antependium with a sculptured representation of the meeting of Ubaldo and Frederick Barbarossa.

The following is a description of Frederick Barbarossa's person at this time :—" Besides having such beauty of features that majesty seemed to breathe forth from him, he was valorous of body and of invincible soul ; of pleasing manners, in giving liberal, in promising ready, in maintaining his word truthful, in pardoning merciful, so much

so that had he not soiled all these virtues by the enmity which he maintained for so many years against the Church, he might have been reputed the best prince who had ever possessed the Empire."

Gubbio thus became for the time being Ghibelline ; she regained some of her castles from the Assisani, others from the Perugini, and peace reigned between the nobles and people such as had never before been known, and general tranquillity prevailed in the city, in great measure due to the influence of the good Bishop Ubaldo. At this time the famous Salinguerra, friend of Frederick Barbarossa, was created Consul. A precious document of this period exists, and is carefully preserved amongst the Communal archives, namely, a diploma, dated 1163, given by Rainaldo, Bishop of Cologne, conceding certain privileges to the Eugubini in the name of the Emperor.

For greater convenience of civil government the city was divided into four quarters ; that part between the east and south was named after the Church of S. Pietro, that between the south and west after S. Martino, that between the west and north S. Giuliano, and that between the north and east S. Andrea. "Each took its own arms and device. S. Pietro painted on its shield a vase, and took for its emblem the laurel ; S. Martino painted the eagle and took the olive ; S. Giuliano painted the falcon and took rosemary ; S. Andrea painted the ostrich feathers and two tree trunks and took the ilex." Four Consuls were elected who were all nobles ; but later the people, wishing also to be represented, eight Consuls were elected,

four nobles and four commons ; and for the factions four were Guelf, four Ghibelline. And the Consulate lasted first a year and afterwards six months, then four, then two, and once even was restricted to one month only. "The oldest of the Consuls bore the banner or Gonfalone, and was called the Gonfaloniere, which title is still retained as a grade of nobility."

A schism was fomented in the Church by Frederick Barbarossa, in the time of Pope Alexander III., four antipopes being elected successively during his Pontificate.

Ubaldo died 16th May 1160, and was succeeded by Teobaldo, known principally as the biographer of his great predecessor. Of him it is written that he was a man, noble, just, and religious, who had not the ambition to seek his own election, but when chosen was desirous only of being confirmed by the real Pope, Alexander III. He, in his turn, died in 1163. Gubbio thereupon was in great doubt and trouble whom to elect, not daring to ask Pope Alexander to nominate a new bishop because of her subjection to Frederick Barbarossa, who favoured the antipope, Vittorio IV. An embassy was therefore sent to the Emperor at Lodi, and a Privilege was obtained from him (25th October 1163, in the twelfth year of his reign and the ninth of his Empire), which gave Gubbio freedom from every rule but his, and power to exercise her own laws and government freely over all her possessions. This Privilege includes many monasteries, amongst them S. Donato. The document still exists in the Municipio.

Bonatto was at this time Abbot of S. Bartolomeo

and of S. Donato ; he had been previously one of the ambassadors who accompanied Ubaldo on his mission to Frederick Barbarossa. His election to the vacant see was procured by Salinguerra, his brother, captain of the Eugubini troops, the friend of Frederick Barbarossa, but he was never confirmed by Pope Alexander because of the aforesaid schism. In the Canonica of S. Secondo is preserved a Privilege in which he appears to have secured terms most favourable to his abbey ; in it are mentioned the following names : " Bonatto, Viscovo di Gubbio ; Benedetto, Priore della Cathedrale ; and Offredo, Abbate di S. Pietro."

Frederick Barbarossa, desirous at this time of subduing Milan, demanded aid of all the cities which were under his yoke and owed him obedience. Gubbio sent him substantial help ("una grossa squadra di valorosi genti"), and the entire subjection and utter destruction of the miserable city resulted, her conqueror sowing salt over the ruins to render her still more desolate. What remained of her government was required to recognise Frederick Barbarossa as supreme lord, and to pay him a tribute under the name of "Feudo," the first time this term was used in Italy.

After this expedition the Eugubine Consuls brought back with them certain Milanese exiles skilled in the art of making woollen fabrics, who introduced the manufacture into Gubbio, where it took root and flourished, enriching the city considerably. It continued to thrive until quite recent times, in fact till the suppression of the monasteries, as the material for the habits of most of the re-

ligious communities of Italy was furnished by the looms of Gubbio, notably that of the Jesuits. So prosperous, indeed, was the wool trade, and so high the remuneration offered by it, that it was exercised to the detriment of agriculture, stone-cutting, and other occupations. So popular did this industry become, and so tempting were its emoluments, that the nobles passed a law forbidding any of their order to enter into trade, and if one of their class from necessity did so join, he must forfeit his grade of nobility. That many did lay aside their rank and enter into commerce is attested by the fact that at the present day families exist who own the same arms but occupy different stations of life, some still noble (*gentiluomini*), whilst others are simple citizens (*popolani*).

Soon after the introduction of the woollen industry, more water being required for the mills and factories, the river Camignano, which had previously served as a moat for the protection of the city walls, was brought inside, and the great Bottaccione was constructed, which forms a reservoir between Monte Calvo and Monte Ingino ; also the aqueduct which to this day brings the water into the city from one mountain to the other, winding in and out along the slopes of Monte Ingino, till it falls into a cistern above the ducal palace, and supplies most of the fountains and all the drinking water of the city. These two marvellous feats of engineering skill will be more fully described in a later chapter.

Finally the exiled Eugubini returning, and the population increasing, Gubbio began to open up communication with the Marche, and about sixty

years after the introduction of the woollen manufacture, built the Castle of Pergola, which, as we shall see, never ceased to be a source of contention with her warlike neighbours.

The power of Frederick Barbarossa began to wane in Italy. On his retirement into Germany the ministers whom he had left to represent him ruled with such severity that the Lombard League was formed to resist his authority. Pope Alexander returned to Rome from France. Barbarossa was not willing, however, to relinquish the promised land of Italy without a struggle; he once more returned, and at his approach the cities of the League quailed with fear. But Frederick, taught by experience, determined to abandon severity and to pursue a different method—namely, to gain by voluntary donation that which he could not obtain by force.

He divided his army into two parts, one division making its headquarters at Bologna, the other he sent into Tuscany to the assistance of the antipope, who remained at Lucca.

Ancona sustained a fierce siege, as she favoured Emanuel, the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, who on his side supported the claims of Pope Alexander III., and who also entertained the ambitious scheme of uniting in his own person the Empires of the East and West, and of uniting at the same time the Greek and Latin Churches.

The Romans had besieged Frascati, defended by a German general, who applied to Frederick Barbarossa for aid. He, anxious to crush Pope Alexander before he could conclude with the Greek Emperor, sent Christian, Archbishop of

Mayence, with a good squadron of soldiers, to Frascati, but having thus weakened his army he applied to Gubbio for help, who supplied him with twelve hundred foot and two hundred horse, under the conduct of Salinguerra.

Spoletto by this time had been nearly rebuilt. Frederick Barbarossa passed her by, but Terni, resisting the Archbishop Christian, was taken by treachery and destroyed with great barbarity. He then proceeded without further opposition to Frascati and vanquished the Romans. Frederick Barbarossa then left Ancona and passed on to Rome, and, says Piccotti, "having witnessed the diligence of the Spoletani in so soon rebuilding their town destroyed by him, he took her under his protection." Gubbio now enjoyed peace for a time except for the harrings of the Perugini, who made themselves masters of Città di Castello about 1180.

On the 25th June 1183, Frederick Barbarossa published his "Universal Famous Peace" at Constance. The city of Alessandria was built to the displeasure of Frederick Barbarossa, and raised to an episcopate by Pope Alexander III., "but her first bishop came to a bad end," says the chronicler, "for he was so hated by the people that they not only killed him, but his liver was eaten for his demerits."

Frederick Barbarossa was at length vanquished on the Ticino, and was glad to conclude peace with Pope Alexander at Venice, who shortly after died, having reigned in the chair of S. Peter twenty-one years, and having seen four antipopes die before him. Lucius III. of Lucca was elected Pope.

being rejected by the Romans, fled to Verona, where he entered into a compact with Frederick Barbarossa, and obtained from him the promise that in Tuscany none but money coined in Lucca should be used. In Gubbio at this time we begin to hear of contracts being paid in lire Lucchesi.

Gubbio, partly by necessity as subject to the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, at this time favoured the Ghibelline cause, and, freshly harassed by the Perugini, who were purely Guelf, about the year 1182 had to sustain a war so disastrous that she was forced to make the best terms she could, and was compelled to enter into a sort of forced alliance with them, in which Gubbio agreed to help Perugia in any wars she might undertake, but was equally to receive aid from her in case of need. On the strength of this compact she was obliged to send a contingent of troops to the assistance of Urbino against her own friends the Imperialists (1184), and another strong detachment in aid of the Orvietani, besieged by Henry, King of the Romans, in 1185. At this time the government of Gubbio was in the hands of Armanno Gabrielli, of the Guelf faction.

In consequence of the Peace of Constance, Gubbio began to withdraw from her treaty with Perugia, with whom it was impossible for her to remain long in agreement, and, Frederick having been invited to Milan, and many of the cities of Italy desirous of maintaining themselves in his favour having sent fresh embassies to him, Gubbio amongst the number sent two of her consuls.

In 1186 Henry, son of Frederick Barbarossa, who had remained in Lombardy acting as his father's lieutenant, passing through Umbria was

invited by the Eugubini to visit their city, hoping thus that by showing themselves willing to acknowledge his authority they might be re-confirmed in their dominion, and so establish themselves in safer relations with their immediate neighbours, especially with Perugia, who was always to be feared, and with whom it was difficult long to maintain peace.

Perugia sent an embassy to recognise Henry as her lord (Signore), and obtained from him a Privilege to elect her own consuls and a confirmation of all the privileges previously granted to her, and the possession of all the property which had belonged to the Countess Matilda in that city. This Privilege was given in Gubbio (9th April 1186); the witnesses were the "Conte di Montefeltro, Corrado, Duke of Spoleto, and Ottone Frangipani." In 1187 Pope Urban III., who had been elected scarcely a year before, died "of distress of mind and fatigue of body," writes Piccotti; "for the good Pontiff having heard that Jerusalem was lost, determined to hasten thither with an army by way of Venice, but died at Ferrara." Frederick Barbarossa, however, equally anxious to recover the Holy City, set out on a crusade against Saladin, accompanied by many Eugubini, under the Conte Bulgarello of Fossato, who but a short time previously had executed a deed submitting himself and his heirs to Gubbio, and agreeing to reside in that city. "*Ma poco vi stette*," says the chronicler, for he joined the expedition of Frederick Barbarossa and sailed for the Holy Land. This, the third crusade, ended disastrously. On the 10th June 1190, Frederick Barbarossa came to an ignominious end, being drowned in a river of Syria, "which he had en-

tered to refresh himself." The plague afterwards broke out in the ranks of the army, which had been withdrawn by Frederick's son to Antioch, being unable to accomplish their aim and rescue the Holy City from the grasp of the infidel. The death of Frederick Barbarossa made an immense impression on the whole of Europe, "especially," says the chronicler, "the strange extinction in so little water of a man full of great thoughts and ambitions, and who had wished to dominate the whole world."

The authority of Rome rose in the ascendant. Clement III. now sat in the Papal chair, all fear of an antipope having ceased.

When the news of Frederick's death reached Gubbio a sedition arose as to which party should prevail, that of the Pope or of the Emperor, a dispute all the more difficult to allay since at that time the Bishop Offredo also died, "whose good exhortations could in part have remedied the scandals." Finally, those who favoured the Papal party rose one day and demolished the Rocca, fearing lest the Emperor should fortify it to their detriment, and ended by robbing and destroying everything both in the fortress and in the town belonging to the Imperial party. At this juncture Benedetto Bentivogli, of the Canonica of S. Mariano, and a disciple of S. Ubaldo, was elected bishop, a man of exemplary life. Under his rule the city spread into the plain beyond the walls begun by Ubaldo. To him belongs the honour of having obtained from Pope Celestine III. the canonisation of his great predecessor, S. Ubaldo. He also obtained a Bull of Exemption in favour of the city (1191), which is still preserved amongst the archives.

CHAPTER IV

CONTINUOUS WARS—DISTRESS OF GUBBIO—
TEMPORARY TRANQUILLITY—BOLD RE-
SISTANCE TO THE POPE—GUELF FROM
NECESSITY

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA having died, was succeeded by his son Henry VI., who contested the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily with Manfred, the bastard son of Ruggiero.

The Pope favoured the claims of Henry, and these were strengthened by his marriage with Costanza, the legitimate daughter of Ruggiero, whose monastic vows were dissolved by Celestine III. in order that she might contract this union and thus render her husband's claims to the two Sicilies more secure; the Pope at the same time bestowed the imperial crown on Henry, and declared him feudatory to the Holy See on payment of a certain tribute.

Dante thus places Costanza in his *Paradiso* :—

“ Quest’ è la luce della gran’ Costanza,
Che del secondo vento di Soave
Genero il terzo, e l’ ultima possanza.” ¹

¹ *Paradiso*, canto iii., line 118 :—

“ Of great Costanza here is seen the light,
Who to the second Suabian storm-blast bore
The third, and best of line of puissant might.”

The Eugubini, who had revolted from the imperial sway, trembled at the severity meted out by Henry to those who had shown themselves unfaithful; they therefore sent an embassy begging him to receive them again into his good graces and to pardon their offence.

The deputation found Henry under the walls of Naples, of which he found the siege more difficult than he had anticipated, consequently he could not afford to reject the voluntary submission of any city; he therefore showed himself very well disposed to accept their devotion, and accorded them a Privilege dated 5th June 1191, which still exists in the archives of Gubbio. This document pardons the city for having destroyed the Rocca or fortress on Monte Ingino, and also mentions all abbeys and churches belonging to Gubbio which were entitled to enjoy the same immunity. It was witnessed by Ulfreduccio Margoli, consul, by the Bishop, and by many others; and a great gold seal was appended bearing on one side the figure of the Emperor seated on a throne, with the legend, "Henricus Sextus Romanorum Imperator Semper Augustus"; and on the other a city with the inscription, "Roma Caput Mundi regit orbis frena rotundi."

Henry having been unsuccessful in his siege of Naples, retired to Germany.

About this time a fresh crusade set out for the Holy Land under the banners of England, France, and of Guy, King of Jerusalem, in order to deliver that city from the hands of the infidel. Gubbio sent three hundred troops under the Count of Fossato, who was accompanied by many members

of the notable house of Gabrielli, by the Count of Coccorano, by Raniero di Ghigense, and many other nobles of Gubbio, who were all present at the taking of Ptolemais.¹ Jerusalem also would probably have fallen into their hands had not the Kings of France and England chosen this inopportune moment to return to their own countries. The departure of the King of England was extremely disastrous for the Crusade, and would have been still more so had not the association of the Knights Templars been founded (1193) for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre.

Tancred having died, Henry VI. took Naples, and earned for himself a terrible reputation for the excessive cruelties he manifested towards those who had conspired against him, "burning some alive, flaying others, and driving nails into the heads of others."

Piccotti gives a rather curious account of the birth of Henry's son, afterwards Frederick II.

"Whilst the Empress (Costanza) followed her husband into the camp she was taken with the pains of childbirth, in consequence of which the Emperor commanded that her delivery should take place in a pavilion, and that whomsoever pleased

¹ Piccotti relates that the King of England, before his departure, treated with Guy for the exchange of the kingdom of Jerusalem for that of Cyprus, which he (the King of England) had acquired on his way to the Holy Land; to which Guy consented. "From this time forth," says Piccotti, "the Kings of England have always been entitled also Kings of Jerusalem." Guy's descendants continued to reign over the island of Cyprus until 1420, when it fell into the hands of the Venetians, from whom it was subsequently taken by the Turks in 1570, under whose dominion it remained until it again came under the jurisdiction of England in 1878.

might be present at the birth, so that every one might be satisfied that it was a real and not a supposititious delivery, because many were persuaded that the Empress, being advanced in years, was no longer capable of childbearing. And thus she gave birth to Frederick II., who afterwards became Emperor and who was declared King of the Romans by his father, Henry VI., when he was no more than two years old."

Gubbio was placed in difficulties at this period (1198) by the discovery of the secret treachery of one of her dependant Castellans, Ugolino della Fratta, who had withdrawn from her protection and placed himself instead under that of Perugia. At the moment she was not in a position to resent the affront ; she determined, however, to bide her time and await a fitting opportunity for revenge.

Henry VI. meanwhile died at Palermo, and Pope Innocent III. declared himself in favour of Otho, Duke of Saxony, rather than of Philip, son of Barbarossa and brother of Henry VI., or of Frederick, son of Henry, who was at this time only four years of age.

During the sanguinary wars that followed, the Church re-acquired most of the cities that had passed under the Imperial sway, amongst others Gubbio ; but after the death of Philip in 1208, Otho, feeling strong enough to be independent of the Pope, declared himself a fervent Ghibelline, and Gubbio followed suit, as we may gather from a diploma given at Montefiascone (1211), in which is repeated a phrase of Henry VI., " for the fidelity and devotion shown to us and for services rendered to the Empire."

The history of Gubbio at this period is a series of petty wars, the neighbouring cities constantly shifting their allegiance and forming fresh combinations for and against each other for some immediate gain. In 1190 she won a victory over the city of Cagli, who promised, in sign of submission, to present a gilded candle every year at the Feast of S. Ubaldo; in return Gubbio promised the Cagliesi to maintain their statutes and privileges, to govern them justly, and to defend them against their enemies. "After which the Eugubini returned home right joyful," and a few days later a deputation came from Cagli to Gubbio, where the conditions were signed, and both cities enjoyed repose for some time.

In 1201 Gubbio entered into a treaty with Foligno because Nocera and Cagli, instigated by her constant enemy Perugia, had rebelled afresh. Cagli was, however, again reduced to obedience, and Gubbio, remembering the still unrevengeed revolt of the Marchese della Fratta, joined with the Assisani and together fought against Perugia, to whom they did much damage, burning the castle of Valfabbrica.

About this period the Castle of Assisi was built.

In 1203 the internal government of Gubbio seems to have been so unsatisfactory as to have necessitated the creation of a new officer under the title of Podestà. His patent was to last six months, after which he might be re-elected for another six. The first Podestà of whom mention is found in the archives, appears to have been a certain Ugolino di Guglielmino, of Jesi.

From this time onward till 1216 Gubbio was in

constant dispute with Perugia, who incited her Castellani to rebellion, stirring up the neighbouring cities of Todi, Spoleto, Bettona, Spello, Gualdo, Nocera, and Arezzo against the unfortunate city. Finally, she was reduced to such straits that she had to submit to the arbitration of Pandolfo di Figuera, a citizen of Rome for the time being Podestà of Perugia, who made the terms so hard that a deep resentment was implanted in the breasts of all her citizens, who at the same time felt that they were unable to resist.

Pope Innocent III. now occupied the Papal throne, "a Pontiff so just," writes Piccotti, "that neither friend nor foe has ever said a word against him, and whom God blessed by raising up in his time those two great luminaries of our faith, S. Domenico and S. Francesco."

The famous Concilio Lateranese was held during his pontificate.

In 1208 the Emperor Philip was treacherously murdered by the Count Palatine, who causing himself to be introduced into the chamber where Philip lay ill, approached the bed with the pretence of doing the Emperor homage, but instead, seized the opportunity of stabbing him in the throat, so that he soon expired.

Immediately after this occurrence Otho IV. was solemnly crowned by Pope Innocent III., and Gubbio hastened to place herself under his protection, obtaining from him the confirmation of all the previous privileges granted to her by Frederick Barbarossa and Henry VI.

Meanwhile the war between Gubbio and Perugia continued to the great damage of both. The Pope

sought with all his power to pacify these belligerent cities, but in vain. Gubbio suffered the most, because she was in discord with her Castellani, who sought to tyrannise over the neighbouring communes, and had been called to account by her Podestà, who required them to restore what they had unjustly taken. They, furious at being constrained to yield the castles they had built for their own occupation, placed themselves under the protection of Perugia. But soon dissatisfied with their own action, they again appealed to Gubbio, who endeavoured to help them to withdraw, which led to immediate trouble.

At this juncture Pope Innocent conceived the resolution of uniting all Christianity in a fresh crusade against the Turk in the Holy Land. The sole obstacle was the war then raging between Pisa and the republic of Genoa.

The Pope left Rome with the intention of proceeding to Pisa *viâ* Perugia, hoping thereby to establish better relations between the inhabitants of Perugia and Gubbio; but, unfortunately, death suddenly overtook him at Perugia, and the cardinals with haste elected a new Pope, who assumed the name of Honorius III., and returned at once to Rome.

The Perugini applied to the new Pope for permission to harass Gubbio afresh, using as a pretext the fact that Gubbio had always shown herself more ready to favour the Imperial cause than that of the Church. Endless confusion ensued and spread to all the cities of the Marche and up the Adriatic coast.

The Eugubini, finding that their adherence to

the Emperor brought them little profit, and that, in fact, they were considered by him of poor account; aware, besides, that the Emperor was in bad odour with the Pope, determined to place themselves once more at the disposition of the Church. They by this means enjoyed some years of tranquillity, and were thus able to recover in a measure from the long troublous period they had passed through.

After the death of Otho, however, Frederick II. tried to regain possession of the city of Gubbio, sending an imperious demand for "five hundred good soldiers" to fight against the Turk. But the Pope would on no account permit the expedition, and sent a mandate forbidding the Eugubini to send any soldiers to Frederick or to any one unfaithful to Holy Church.

At this time Gubbio was under the spiritual government of the Blessed Villano, "a man of pure and saintly life, who was besides the friend of S. Francis of Assisi."

Pope Honorius III. died in 1227, and was succeeded by Gregory IX., a nephew of Pope Innocent III.

Gubbio appears now to have enjoyed one of her rare periods of prosperity; she grew in importance, and, says Lucarelli,¹ "Her friendship was sought and her enmity feared by the neighbouring cities." Many of the great republics of Italy, namely Pisa,

¹ Lucarelli attributes the construction of the ancient municipal palace in the piazza S. Giuliano, known as the Bargello, to this period. Ranghiasi, however, assigns 1302 as the date. It subsequently became the residence of the Captain of the People.

Florence, Siena, Genoa, Parma, Lucca, Bologna, Orvieto and Arezzo drew their Podestàs from amongst the ranks of her citizens.

About 1233 Gubbio fortified a castle, five miles from Cagli, near the Flaminian Way, to which they gave the name of Cantiano, for the protection of a considerable territory adjacent, a populated district having sprung up for the cultivation of the land; and in 1224 she founded another castle in the direction of the Marche in order to unite for mutual safeguard the populations of several small castles, or rather walled villages, that had been destroyed during the late wars. This became the castle of Pergola, eighteen miles from Gubbio, which later assumed so great an importance that it gave rise to unending jealousy on the part of Cagli. Besides the populations of the demolished castles of Montepiscopale, Monteaiaata and Saralta, Pergola was colonised by 140 families from Gubbio, who took with them the precious relic of the head of S. Secondo.

Piccotti relates that the houses were built at the private expense of the nobles who owned the land, but the walls and towers at the cost of the Commune, for the expenditure of 100,000 lire Ravennesi.

No sooner was Pergola completed than Cagli and Perugia sent forth ambassadors to Ancona, Urbino, Fano, and Pesaro in the hope of forming a league against Gubbio, it being contrary to their interests that a population dependent on Gubbio should establish itself on the borders of the Marche. Gubbio, on her side, sought the aid of Assisi and Città di Castello. Pope Gregory IX. wrote, however, from Viterbo to the Bishop of Assisi advising

him to desist from intermeddling in the affair, and directing him to warn the Perugini under pain of excommunication from uniting herself with Ancona, or any other city, for the molestation of Gubbio in the matter of Pergola, since that stronghold had been built with the express permission of the Papal Legate Cardinal di S. Lorenzo, who was at the same time directed to suppress the Marche and to aid Gubbio as much as possible. The Marche, for their part, being displeased at the augmentation of power and territory to the Holy See, showed themselves extremely hostile to Gubbio.

The combinations of these small cities for and against each other were so excessively intricate that the Pope must have had a hard task to weigh the various rights and mete out justice. Perugia was pretty constantly Guelf, whilst Gubbio favoured alternately the Pope or the Emperor, as best served her purpose. At this juncture she appealed to the Pope. Perugia, at the same time, demanded the restitution of the Castle of Valmarcola, which, she declared, had been unjustly taken by the Eugubini. Gregory ordered Gubbio to give it up, and her Podestà replied that very willingly would he have yielded it into the hands of the Pope, but that he could not afford to weaken her frontier at this crisis. The Pope was satisfied with this reply.

The Cagliesi meantime "had little confidence in Perugia," writes Piccotti, "feeling themselves to be disdained by her," whilst Gubbio sent embassies to the various cities of the Marche complaining of the injustice they manifested in so constantly molesting her for having built a city on her own territory, which was in no way injurious

to Cagli. Fano alone consented to abstain, the others would hear no word of peace. The Pope thereupon wrote letters to Ancona, Jesi, Fano, Urbino, and Pesaro, threatening them with excommunication if they favoured Cagli, who was seeking by every means to instigate Perugia to march against Pergola, to the detriment of Gubbio; and he absolved each city from the oath it had taken in uniting itself to the league.

Thus Gubbio was left at length in peace and set to work to fortify Pergola; conscious, besides, of her great obligations to the Holy Father, she resolved once more to relinquish her allegiance to the Emperor Frederick.

It is quite impossible to enter into all the intricacies of the petty wars and dissensions of this epoch. If the cities were not united against some common and serious danger, they appear to have been unable to resist the pleasure of harassing each other by a species of border warfare. Serious events were, however, preparing to menace the Papal throne at Rome.

In 1240 Gregory IX. preached a crusade against Frederick II., calling on all whom he could control, to fight under the Red Cross against the Emperor, whom he excommunicated and deposed.

Frederick was furious at being treated as if he were an infidel. Whilst he moved towards Rome a band of Saracens was sent into Umbria to his assistance, and then it was that they were repulsed by Sta. Chiara at the Convent of S. Damiano, by the merit of the Holy Eucharist. The cities of Umbria united against them, and they passed on to Rome.

Pope Gregory, menaced by Frederick, hastily

called a council of prelates. Those who came from France were waylaid and imprisoned by Enzo, King of Sardinia, son of Frederick II., to the excessive displeasure of Pope Gregory, who took the vexation so much to heart that he died.

Piccotti eulogises him in the following terms for having procured peace for his native city when sorely menaced by Perugia: "A pontiff of great merit and very favourable to Gubbio."

It was during the Pontificate of this Pope that S. Domenico, S. Francesco of Assisi, and S. Antonio of Padua were canonised.

Gregory was succeeded in the papacy by Celestine IV., who, however, lived but a few days. The Holy See was deprived of a successor for twenty months, as the cardinals had all been imprisoned by Frederick.

The Emperor sent Enzo with an army into Umbria and moved against Spoleto. Rome sent to Gubbio and Perugia, exhorting them to resist the Emperor, but these cities prudently considered their wisest course to make terms with Frederick, the Papal chair being empty.

With Gubbio, Frederick treated long over the castles of Pergola and Cantiano, thus astutely holding them in suspense in order to ensure their fidelity; but finally, on the 1st December 1242, he confirmed all the privileges conceded by Henry VI. Gubbio in return sent a detachment of soldiers to Frederick's camp, and served him "well and faithfully." On his departure for Rome to assist at the election of a new Pope in the month of May, 1243, he gave her another privilege, confirming her lordship over divers castles.

Frederick set the imprisoned cardinals free, and they forthwith elected Innocent IV., who, whilst cardinal, had been the Emperor's close friend. It was universally hoped that this election would put an end to the unhappy discords that had so long existed between the Church and the Empire. This intelligence was borne with joy to Frederick; he, however, knew but too well the nature of Pope Innocent's lofty soul, and said, "In the cardinal I have lost a dear friend, in the Pope I have acquired an enemy."

"And so it resulted," writes Piccotti, "for they were never more in accord." Mediators were not wanting, who endeavoured to bring about the renewal of the former friendly relations, but a meeting could not be arranged, for the Pope distrusted the Emperor and fled to France.

In 1248, Parma having revolted against the Emperor, he applied to Gubbio for help; she again sent him a detachment of soldiers, in return for which he granted her a much desired Privilege (dated 11th May 1248), confirming her lordship over Pergola.

Frederick II. died in 1250, and was followed to the grave by his legitimate son, Conrad, in 1250. Manfred, natural son of the Emperor, thus became head of the Ghibelline faction, and was crowned King of the Two Sicilies at Palermo in 1258, Conradin, the grandson of Frederick, being but a child and unable to resist.

Gubbio resolved to favour Manfred, and entered into a confederation with Urbino, which supported the same cause (14th February 1251); but as these cities had always been at variance on account of

Cagli, it was agreed that fidelity to the compact should be sworn before a hundred representatives of each city.

Fabriano entered into a similar league with Gubbio. Cagli, being Ghibelline, also offered her friendship, but Gubbio was doubtful whether to accept. The matter was discussed in council and disputes ran high. Finally, however, Cagli was admitted to the league for mutual defence, but each city reserved to itself the right to abstain from fighting against certain other cities with whom she was on friendly relations, although the other party to the contract might not be equally so.

In the year 1251 we find the government of Gubbio divided between two consuls of different political views, one Guelf the other Ghibelline. There is little doubt, however, that at this time the Ghibellines were predominant in the city; witness the diploma granted to the Eugubini (7th March 1259) by Prinzivallo Doria, the representative of Manfred in Central Italy.

The war with Perugia broke out again between 1256 and 1259, the pretext being the possession of Fossato, Gualdo, and Nocera, but deep down at the heart of the struggle seethed the more important question of Guelf and Ghibelline, which at this period agitated the whole of Italy. The heroic Manfred might perhaps have rendered his cause victorious had not Pope Urban IV. called in foreign aid.

During the previous pontificate of Alexander IV., however, the Perugini had sought to undermine Gubbio by sending an embassy secretly to Rome,

to represent to the Pope how prejudicial it was to the Holy See that the Eugubini, who had always rather favoured the Emperor than the Pope, should have all their possessions and feudatories united compactly together ; at the same time they pointed out that they themselves, always Guelf, and ever faithful partizans of Holy Church, merited some reward for all the fatigues they had borne in her cause. Pope Alexander gave ear to their representations, all the more readily because the Eugubini had neglected to send their procurator to Rome, considering themselves sufficiently secure under the protection of the rector of the Duchy of Spoleto. The Pope accordingly gave the Perugini licence to proceed to arms by a mandate given at Viterbo, 22nd December 1258.

This war continued for three years, with great loss and bloodshed on both sides. At the same time the arrogance of the nobles caused internal dissensions of such gravity in Gubbio, that the people rebelled, and, in order to maintain their rights, determined upon the creation of a new officer, who should be called the Captain of the People, whose duty it should be to defend their interests against the Podestà, who was always chosen from the ranks of the nobility, and invariably favoured his own party ; Ugolino di Sezza was selected as their first representative. The nobles and Castellani were so displeased at this move on the part of their citizens that they retired to their castles in dudgeon, and, notwithstanding that their city was at war with Perugia, they went over to the side of that city, which latter obtained from the Pope letters ordering the Eugubini to

submit for five years, with the promise that their freedom should be restored to them at the termination of that period. If they refused to yield, Pope Alexander directed the Bishop of Gubbio to depart from the city and to declare it excommunicate.

The Eugubini were not to be coerced and continued a stout resistance, trying at the same time to force the revolting nobles to return to their allegiance; some consented, but certain others refused. Gubbio, however, supported by her new officer, the Captain of the People, felt strong enough to resist, and the struggle went on.

The Ghibelline power had considerably waned. Manfred was occupied in the south, and Gubbio had little hope of aid from him against her powerful and determined enemy, Perugia, always Guelf and at this moment stronger than ever in the light of the Pope's favour. Alexander wrote letters to the Rector of the Marche (there being no Legate at that time) directing that he should countenance Perugia, but he did not reckon on the courage of the Eugubini, who were determined to resist to the utmost the unjust sentence.

But, finally, in 1259 Perugia desired peace, having lost many of her inhabitants, and feeling herself quite exhausted with the long struggle.

Manfred had gained in force and reputation, and had taken Florence and a great part of the States of the Church. He called on Gubbio to maintain her fidelity and promised to aid her. Gubbio sent an embassy to Prinzivallo Doria, his viceroy, who promised help in the establishment of peace.

A treaty was set on foot, but the question as to the lordship of Fossato and Castiglione presented

certain difficulties, which required to be decided by a commission. Tiberio di Ugone was elected Syndic and procurator for the Commune of Gubbio to conduct the truce, and it was decreed that he should deposit the fortresses (Rocche) of Fossato and Castiglione in the hands of the Podestà of Castello. The revolted nobles fled to Città di Castello and tried to persuade the arbitrators to favour them and give sentence against Gubbio, showing, moreover, that such was the will of the Pope, and that, if it were not so decided, the intermediaries would be acting in direct disobedience to the Holy Father.

Sentence was accordingly given in favour of Perugia, with possession of Fossato and Castiglione, whilst the city of Gubbio was condemned, not only to cede these two important castles, but also to restore to her contumacious nobles all the other possessions of which she had deprived them. She was besides to submit her own castle to Perugia.

When Ugone transmitted this hard sentence to Gubbio the inhabitants were outraged and surprised, and there was long and angry deliberation in the council. Finally, they sent word to Pietro di Berardello, who held the castle of Fossato, that he was on no account to yield it up. A similar message was sent to Castiglione.

Furious at the unjust terms of this sentence and unable, for the moment, either to proceed to the defence of these castles with arms, or to revenge the insult directed against their own city in the way their fierce resentment would have dictated, they had to content themselves with injurious words, and the following ominous sentence passed

into a proverb, "*A fide Castellana libera nos Domine.*"

It is even related that they caused this legend to be inscribed on the gate of the city that opened towards Città di Castello. Ugone was further directed to leave Castello without accepting the sentence, which he did by night secretly.

The people of Città di Castello, perceiving that Gubbio rejected their decision, and that it was likely to provoke fresh conflicts, fully aware, besides, that they had forfeited the friendship of Gubbio, instructed their Sindaco to convey the keys of Fossato and Castiglione into the keeping of Perugia.

Perugia intended forthwith to destroy the fortress of Castiglione and to occupy Fossato, but when they sent to invest the latter place they were refused entrance, and Berardello declared that he was holding it for himself until his arrears of pay should have been made up, and not for the commune of Gubbio—a small, but eminently justifiable, legal fiction.

In sore perplexity, Gubbio besought help from Manfred, who turned a willing ear, directing his viceroy in the Marche to send as many companies of his German troops as the Eugubini should require. He was probably well content that the dissension between these rival cities should be maintained, as by this means they were less able to resist his progress and would, in the end, be likely to destroy each other. As soon as the truce was over fresh provision was accordingly made for war.

In 1263 the arrival of Charles of Anjou in Italy strengthened the Guelf party, and Manfred,

having found it necessary to recall his German mercenaries, Gubbio was forced to embrace the same cause. She therefore sent a deputation to Pope Urban IV. invoking his protection. He accordingly conferred upon the city a Brief, dated from Montefiascone, confirming all her ancient privileges and her dominion over Pergola and Cantiano, and also the investiture of Cagli as a reward for her submission. Charles of Anjou likewise took the city under his protection, and then it was that the lilies of France were added to the arms of the commune.

CHAPTER V

RULE OF THE GUELF FACTION — PROSPERITY OF GUBBIO—DEVELOPMENT OF ART—SCHOOL OF PAINTING—RUINOUS EFFECTS OF THE DISSENSIONS IN THE FAMILY OF THE GABRIELLI

THE prevalence of the Guelf cause in Gubbio was thus initiated in 1263 and began, as we have seen, with the Brief of Pope Urban IV. Other privileges were conferred on the city by Pope Clement IV. in 1266 and 1267, confirming her in the possession of Pergola and other fortresses. Clement IV. further caused her to withdraw from her spiritual submission to the rector of Spoleto, granting her instead a Vicario who would directly represent the Holy See.

This predominance of the Guelf faction in no way resulted in the injury of the rival party in Gubbio, but rather contributed to a long period of mutual contentment and peace, which continued until the year 1300. In that year, however, the city was attacked and surprised by certain Ghibelline exiles under the leadership of Uguccione della Fagiola and the Counts Federico and Galasso of Montefeltro. All the Guelfs who were unable to save themselves by flight were taken prisoners by

Uguccione, who was elected Podestà. Cardinal Orsini, however, marched quickly to the aid of the Guelfs, retook the city with the help of Perugia, and banished the offending Ghibellines.

After the flight of Uguccione, Gubbio came again under the sway of the Guelf party, and for fifty years was ruled exclusively by that faction, headed by the powerful family of the Gabrielli. A document exists in which are commemorated the Ghibelline families for each quarter of the city, towards whom the sentence of banishment was decreed. This deed again received the confirmation of the famous Cardinal Egidio Albornoz in 1354, whose tomb, it will be remembered, exists in the Church of S. Francesco at Assisi.

In spite of the discords due to party strife, the city of Gubbio appears to have been in a highly flourishing condition during the early years of the fourteenth century. The population augmented to fifty thousand inhabitants. The two famous municipal palaces were erected, and to this period also belong the aqueduct and the bottaccione, or reservoir.

This may be said to have been one of the most prosperous and brilliant epochs in the history of the city, both for industry and art.

Oderisi and Palmerucci, the originators of the Umbrian School of Painting, were embellishing their native city and making her famous, even beyond her own walls, during the early years of this century. The mint was established for the convenience of the important woollen industry, it being found necessary to coin small pieces of money for the daily needs of the numerous workmen employed at the looms.

Between the years 1301 and 1340 Gubbio furnished for Florence alone, no less than twenty-two Podestàs and Captains of the People, amongst whom special mention may be made of Cante Gabrielli, an ardent Guelf, famous for having decreed the exile of Dante in 1302. In the same breath may be named a famous Ghibelline man of letters, Bosone Novello Raffaelli, sometime Podestà of Arezzo and Viterbo, the friend of Dante Alighieri, to whom he offered the hospitality of his castle of Colmollaro. It is a singular coincidence that to one citizen of this small Umbrian city was due the decree of banishment pronounced on the poet of the *Divina Commedia*, whilst, as the result of this act, another of her citizens enjoyed the privilege of affording an asylum to the exile.¹

During the first half of the fourteenth century even the communes of Florence, Siena, and Perugia did not disdain to seek an alliance with Gubbio owing to the prevalence of a common interest in the Guelf cause. Gubbio took part in the defence of Florence against Henry VII. and Ludovic the Bavarian, and so friendly were the relations existing between these two cities, that a decree was passed notifying that the nobles of Florence and Gubbio should mutually enjoy, equally and interchangeably, all the rights of citizenship.

On the 15th March 1329, Pope John XXII. called on the Eugubini to oppose the passage through their territory of troops from Fabriano, allied to Ludovic of Bavaria.

¹ An inscription on the Palazzo Falcucci close to the Church of S. Marziale records that Dante Alighieri was received there by Federico Falcucci.

But these comparatively peaceful times came to an end in 1350, when, on the 7th August, Giovanni Gabrielli, a powerful Ghibelline, instigated by ambition, and profiting by the absence of the principal citizens, availed himself of the opportunity to rise against the Guelf members of his own family and burn their houses, imprisoning his opponents and possessing himself of the reins of government. Aided by the Ghibellines of the Marche and of Umbria, he placed himself under the protection of Giovanni Visconti, Archbishop and Lord of Milan.

Giacomo Gabrielli, head of the Guelf faction and pontifical governor of the States of the Church, came immediately to the assistance of his party, aided by the Florentines, Spoletani, and Perugini, but in vain; his Ghibelline clansman was able, with the help of the Visconti and Montefeltrini, to oppose him successfully till 1354, rendering Gubbio a complete military centre, and providing himself with the necessary funds by confiscating and selling the jewels of the ladies, and even the gold from the crucifixes in the churches.

At length Pope Innocent VI., who was then at Avignon, sent Cardinal Egidio Albornoz into Italy to try and regain for the Church the cities that had been usurped by petty tyrants. Giacomo Gabrielli met him at Orvieto and begged him to come and retake Gubbio.

The Legate cited Giovanni Gabrielli to yield the city, and he, finding himself at discord with the citizens and with but a poor hope of defending himself, agreed to place it in the hands of the

cardinal, with the proviso that his kinsman Giacomo and his sons should be excluded.

The Legate restored to the city all her ancient privileges, and appointed Conte Carlo di Dovadola (called also della Pace) to be her governor. Piccotti observes, "He ruled most justly," citing as an instance that one of the nobles of Gubbio having given a blow on the cheek to a noble of Cantiano, he immediately caused his hand to be cut off.

In 1356 Cardinal Albornoz organised the expedition against Galeotto Malatesta, who was taken prisoner, brought to Gubbio and confined in the dungeons of the Palazzo dei Consoli.

From this time onwards till 1376 Gubbio was tyrannised over by various Legates from Avignon, who in no way fulfilled the promises of Cardinal Albornoz. Exasperated at length, on the 8th September 1376 the Gabrielli, laying aside their private feuds and rivalries, united in a general revolt against the papal authority to the cry of "Viva il Popolo," "Viva la Pace." Many exiles returned from Perugia, Fabriano, Assisi, Todi, and Città di Castello to rally under the gonfalone of the republic.

Piccotti describes, with much confusion of detail, the extravagances committed by the excitable population in the ardour of party feeling. How, at one moment, they could hardly be restrained from making a holocaust of the unpopular bishop, burning the Vescovado over his head; whilst, at another, they were singing and dancing and merry-making in the streets, in honour of some hero of the hour.

Bishop Aldobrandini (a Florentine) died in 1377, and Gregory XI. sanctioned the election of Gabriele Gabrielli di Necciolo, a monk from Fonte Avellana, who was received with great rejoicings and festivities. It is related that 2000 gold florins were given to the bishop, and 200 to each of his four "cavalieri," in order that they might fitly celebrate the event with music and processions and manifestations of universal contentment. "But," foreshadows Berni,¹ "Male augurò al futuro male," for the divisions in the house of Gabrielli caused the ruin of Gubbio and the loss of her inestimable liberty. However, for the time being peace was restored, and the government continued to be exercised in the name of the people for the space of three years.

But, at the end of that time, Bishop Gabrielli, who, notwithstanding his monastic profession, showed himself to be a man rather of war than of peace, entered into an agreement with the Court of Avignon, and on the 6th September 1380 called in Carlo, Conte di Durazzo, papal commissario, admitting him "between night and day" by the Porta Marmorea, and placed the government of Gubbio in his hands to the cry of "Viva il Papa."

The Count was accompanied by the Consoli and Podestà and by about 1000 horsemen, travelling by way of Arezzo. His banners were hung from the windows of the Palazzo dei Consoli in token of his seignury; but he only remained two days, after which he departed by the Porta del Borgo (Sta. Lucia) in the direction of Città di Castello,

¹ Berni, *Chronicon Eugubinum*.

leaving as his representative a certain Raimondo di Tolomei, of Siena, without whose permission neither the consuls nor the Camerlengo, nor even the bishop himself, were to spend any of the funds of the commune. Raimondo was subsequently withdrawn for public misconduct, and the reins of government remained in the hands of the bishop, who, besides, obtained from Pope Urban VI. his own nomination as Pontifical Vicar, and once more caused the city to submit to the Church. Occupied with internal dissensions, Gubbio lost the domination of Pergola, of which she was deprived without contest by Malatesta of Rimini.

At last the tyranny of the bishop became insupportable, and the principal families rose openly against him, and, under the leadership of Senso and Cante Gabrielli the younger, and of Bosone Ungaro, they threw off his yoke, ceding to him the township of Cantiano with the promise to pay him besides 4000 florins. But, after three years of civil war, their financial position was reduced to such miserable straits that they found it impossible to pay this sum; exhausted, besides, by want and famine they were unable any longer to resist the arms of Francesco Gabrielli, brother of their turbulent bishop.

The bishop meanwhile died in 1383,¹ but Francesco continued the struggle. Threatened by a siege, the magistrates assembled in council on the 24th March 1384, with the determination of finding a remedy.

Berni relates that at the suggestion of Taddeo

¹ Bishop Gabrielli is said to have died of the plague, which at this time crept insidiously through Italy.

Coraduccio della Branca, of Senso Gabrielli and others, it was decided to send an embassy to treat for peace with Francesco Gabrielli. Choice fell on Francesco d'Angelo di Carnevali, a man wise with the wisdom of the serpent, who was created Syndic and was to be the bearer of certain letters to Francesco Gabrielli, which were accordingly prepared and written in open council.

"But," says the old chronicler, "the affair did not tend to go happily, and what they could not obtain by a direct road they sought to obtain by a crooked one." In that month the Gonfaloniere, who had charge of the great seal, was one Necciolo dei Sforzolini, a man of illustrious birth, but simple, and little versed in public affairs. The letters for Francesco Gabrielli were written by day, but the following night the Gonfaloniere sealed them without perceiving that others had been substituted and addressed instead, to Count Antonio of Montefeltro and Urbino. The next morning early, the astute Francesco di Carnevali departed, ostensibly for the camp of Francesco Gabrielli according to the resolution of the council, but hastened instead to Count Antonio, who, only too willingly, accepted the voluntary submission of so valiant a city as a welcome addition to his territory. Together these two concerted the terms, of which the heads may be seen to this day in the Libri delle Riforme.

The subtlety of Francesco di Carnevali was like to have led to great disturbances but for the interposition of the above named magistrates, who finally ratified the agreement in council on the 30th March of the same year.

Count Antonio of Montefeltro shortly visited

Gubbio, bringing with him a great supply of provisions for the famished populace, and won their affections by his consummate tact, declaring that he came not as "Signore but as Captain of the Eugubini." At which they cried, "Viva il Conte Antonio," and were ready to sing with Zachariah, "*Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel quia visitavit,*" &c.

Thus, after 750 years of liberty, this incident closes finally the period of Gubbio's independence; henceforward she became an integral part of, first, the County and afterwards the Duchy of Urbino, passing from the hands of the Montefeltro family by succession to the Della Rovere; and finally, on the extinction of that line, returning by testamentary inheritance, once more, to the Holy See, in whose possession she remained until the States of the Church became, in turn, a part of United Italy.

CHAPTER VI

THE MONTEFELTRI, DUKES OF URBINO —
FEDERICO OF MONTEFELTRO—HIS
GLORIOUS RULE—TROUBLE UNDER THE
BORGIA AND MEDICI POPES — THE
SUCCESSION PASSES TO THE DELLA
ROVERE—MILITARY PROWESS OF THE
EUGUBINI — GUBBIO CEDED TO THE
PAPAL STATES

THE family of the Feltreschi or Montefeltri first come before our notice in the person of Antonio, Lord of Monte Coppiolo, a famous condottiere of the twelfth century.

In 1154 they became Counts of Montefeltro in recognition of important services rendered to Frederick Barbarossa. They gradually established their seigneurie over Urbino, which later afforded them their title. In the thirteenth century they received the investiture of that city from the Pope. Buonconte appears to have had the wisdom and address to obtain a double investiture of this city, both from Frederick Barbarossa in 1216, and also from Pope Honorius III., by which he became both Count and Vicar. This, however, did not hinder them from continuous struggles with the Church, their inclination being for the Ghibelline cause.

Amongst the most famous members of this race

was Guido (*il Vecchio*), placed by Dante in the xxvii. canto of the *Inferno*, for the counsel given to Pope Boniface VIII. to deceive his enemies, the Colonna, by fair promises but tardy fulfilment.

Guido, wishing to save his soul and make his peace with God before it was too late, had retired from the world and assumed the habit of Saint Francis, "and in the holy cells of Assisi sought that peace which it had been the aim of his previous life to trouble." Pope Boniface, desirous of obtaining a victory over his adversaries, sought the advice of the once famous condottiere. Frate Guido remained long in thought, and at last replied that he feared the means he would suggest might cause him to fall into mortal sin.

Boniface, eager to subdue his enemy at any price, cried, "Oh! if it is for that, I absolve thee." Guido accordingly uttered the memorable words:—

"Lunga promessa coll' attender corto
Ti fara trionfar nell' alto seggio."¹

The Pope triumphed, and the Colonna fell into the snare, A.D. 1298, but Dante gives expression to Guido's remorse:—

"Questi è de' rei del fuoco furo :
Per ch' io la dove vedi son perduto
E si vestito andando mi rancuro."²

¹ *Inferno*, canto xxvii. v. 110:

"Large promise with performance scant, be sure,
Shall make thee triumph in thy lofty seat."

² *Inferno*, canto xxvii. v. 127:

"Hence perdition doomed, I rove,
A prey to rankling sorrow in this garb."

Frederick I., son of Guido, took part in the enterprise of Uguccione against the Guelfs of Gubbio. He was followed by his sons Guido II. and Frederick II., both ardent Ghibellines. Frederick was the father of Antonio, to whom, as we have seen, the seignury of Gubbio was peaceably though somewhat treacherously offered in 1384. They had previously obtained possession of Cagli in a similar manner, having been invited to supplant the usurping family of the Ceccardi, as in Gubbio they were entreated to put an end to the tyrannies of the powerful Gabrielli. However, although Gubbio thus lost her independence she never had cause to regret her voluntary submission.

A solemn treaty of capitulation was drawn up, which is still preserved amongst the archives of the city,¹ by which Count Antonio bound himself to maintain the laws of Gubbio and to defend her against her enemies; she at the same time gave a like promise to help Urbino in time of need. To the honour of the Montefeltri be it said that all the conditions were scrupulously observed, and not by them alone, but by their successors, the della Rovere. Of this family Dennistoun writes that "In the territories earned by their good swords, and their faithful services to the Church, it was their pride to foster the lessons of peace, until their state became the cradle of science, of letters, and of art."

It would appear that the anxious moment of menacing danger having passed, certain patriotic nobles, lamenting too late their lost liberty, and

¹ Lucarelli, *Memorie di Gubbio*.

finding it difficult to accommodate themselves to the new order of events, fortified themselves in their own castles rather than endure a foreign yoke. Amongst them we find the names of Corraduccio della Branca, of Baldo and Senso Gabrielli, Bosone Ungaro, Gaddo Accoromboni, Cante (junior) and Giovanni Gabrielli; whilst under the same pretext the Gabrielli of the Necciolo branch, authors of all the trouble, retired to their stronghold of Cantiano under the leadership of Francesco, who, since the death of his brother the bishop, had become the head of his line.

Count Antonio could not tolerate a hostile seignury so close to Gubbio, war therefore broke out anew, and the Gabrielli called on the Florentines to help them. Count Antonio, for his part, sent an embassy to Florence begging her to desist from any interference one way or the other, but in vain; the struggle went on till, in 1386, the Florentine troops under Giovanni degli Albizzi advanced as far as Corso, a small township about two miles distant from Gubbio, where an encounter took place. Count Antonio with a detachment of Eugubini arrived in time to prevent the contentious Gabrielli from joining them, and a treaty of peace was concluded by the intervention of the Conte di Carpi, Antonio agreeing to pay the Gabrielli a certain sum in satisfaction of their losses, and to send each year to Florence a Pallio for the feast of S. John the Baptist.

In 1388 the Florentines entered into a league with Count Antonio to move against Pope Urban VI. and against the commune of Perugia. He accordingly opened hostilities in April of that year.

Meanwhile, neither the Pope nor Perugia slept. Urban, on his side, stirred up the Malatesta of Rimini to move against Montefeltro and Urbino. Galeazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan, interposed and peace was again declared.¹

But it was of short duration. In 1391 hostilities, fiercer than ever, broke out, the banished nobles rallying under the banners of Perugia and of Carlo Malatesta of Rimini, who, for various private motives, was inimical to Montefeltro. Divers encounters took place, and, as may be imagined, intrigues and stratagems were not wanting on either side; but nothing decisive happened until 1393, when, at length, the struggle concentrated itself on the vexed question of the possession of Cantiano.

Pope Boniface IX., sincerely desiring to bring

¹ It may be interesting to English readers to learn that the great medieval Condottiere Sir John Hawkwood, better known in Italy as Giovanni Aguto, although never personally concerned in the affairs of Gubbio, was yet employed in some of the contests against the Malatesta, whom he routed with three thousand horse at Fratta, A.D. 1387.

The following amusing anecdote shows the mettle of the man:—In the year 1391, Sir John Hawkwood, Captain of the Lombard League, was encamped at Bresciano sotto Lunati, and closely besieged by the Conte di Virtù, who sought to catch him in a trap. After the symbolical usage of the day, the Conte di Virtù sent Sir John a present of a fox in a cage, whereupon the Englishman, in presence of the ambassador, broke the bars and let the fox go free, saying, "Go and say to your Lord that the fox has broken the cage." He afterwards sent the Conte di Virtù a bloody glove, demanding battle, which was accepted for the following day. However, the fox slipped away in the night, leaving nothing behind him but his banners stuck in the trees by way of a jest. He also left his trumpeters to sound the reveillé at dawn, who never left off till day was well advanced. And so the Conte di Virtù found himself the laughing-stock of the wily Englishman, who retired to Lombardy to reinforce his army.

about peace, had already sought to effect an agreement in this difficult matter, and having occasion to pass by Perugia in November 1392, had invited Count Antonio to visit him there. Berni relates that the good Pontiff accorded to the Count a most amicable reception, inviting him to dine with him at the Episcopal Palace on the Sunday (November 17th). During this entertainment, news was brought to Count Antonio that a disturbance had broken out in the piazza, so fruitful of brawls.

Count Antonio hastened to the spot, and at the same time a party of nobles came upon the scene with the cry of "Death to the Respanti," that is, the plebeians. Seven of the Count's followers were killed and many houses were burnt. "And," adds Berni, "Count Antonio returned to Gubbio not without fear."

In 1393, however, further hostilities occurred promising no better result, but by the intervention of the Cardinal di Bari the possession of Cantiano was adjudicated to Count Antonio, together with all the other territories claimed by Francesco Gabrielli, on payment of 8000 lire. Peace was further ensured and friendly relations strengthened by a double matrimonial alliance between the families of Malatesta and Montefeltro.

In 1395 Galeazzo Belfiore, brother of Carlo and Pandolfo Malatesta, wedded Battista, daughter of Count Antonio of Montefeltro; and in 1397 Guidantonio, son of Count Antonio, contracted a marriage with Renegarda Malatesta, daughter of the Lord of Rimini and sister of Galeazzo Belfiore.

The exiled nobles obtained permission to return,

and the Accoromboni, Becchi, and others who had failed to follow the example of Bosone Ungaro and Conte Gabrielli in submitting two years previously, now came in and surrendered.

In 1397 war again broke out, and in 1398 Gubbio was visited by a great period of dearth. Count Antonio sent help of money and grain ; but although by this means he earned in a certain measure the gratitude of the people, he never succeeded in gaining the adherence of the nobles, and we again find the Gabrielli, della Branca, and Accoromboni withdrawing themselves into exile, in consequence of the harshness manifested towards them by Count Antonio towards the decline of his life.

He finally died in 1403, and was succeeded by his son Guidantonio.

The history of Gubbio is from this time forward so intimately bound up with that of Urbino, that it is almost impossible to separate any facts that specially concern the city that occupies our attention. The petty wars and struggles of Urbino and Montefeltro were shared by Gubbio. We learn from Reposati¹ that Guidantonio governed his subjects "with the same moderation and prudence" as his predecessor ! Also that he gained the goodwill both of the people and of the nobles.

In 1408 Guidantonio took possession of ASSISI, some chroniclers aver by the voluntary submission of the inhabitants, who were invested by the army of Ladislaus, King of Naples. Berni, however, affirms that it was less by the will of the people than by the action of the Papal Legate, who

¹ Reposati, *Storia della Zecca*.

ceded it to Guidantonio by the desire of the Pope, in recognition of the friendly relations he had established between Gubbio and the Holy See.

In this transaction the Papal Legate, Cardinal di Bari, does not appear to have acted quite straightforwardly with Gubbio, and the duplicity very nearly cost him his life. Berni relates that the negotiations were conducted in Gubbio, and that the Cardinal, seeking to maintain himself in the good graces of the Perugini, endeavoured to retain possession of the Rocche, or two castles of Assisi in their favour, whilst ceding the city to Guidantonio. The Eugubini, getting wind of this dishonourable affair, threatened to stone him, and he departed in dudgeon.

Guidantonio added Assisi to his titles, as we find from an old statute of the city of Cagli in the following terms:—"Guidus Antonius Comes Montisferretri, ac Civitatem Urbini, Eugubii, Callii, et Assisii nonnullarum aliarum Terrarum Castrorum et Locorum pro S. Rom. Ecclesia. Vicarius Generalis."

In 1413 Guidantonio was excommunicated by Pope John XXIII. "for moving war against him," but was soon afterwards absolved. After this event he was anxious to devote himself to the furtherance of pious works, amongst others, he increased the number of monks at the hermitage of S. Ambrogio, on the barren slopes of Monte Calvo, who, partly from the dangers and asperities of the times, and partly from the poverty of the place, had been reduced to one.

On the accession of Pope Martin V. to the

papacy in 1416, Guidantonio sent to render him homage, and in 1418 visited the Holy Father in person, receiving from him the title of Duke of Spoleto.

In 1419 the nephew of Francesco Gabrielli di Necciolo attempted to regain his lost possessions, with the help of Braccio Fortibracchi of Montone, the famous condottiere of Perugia, who twice invaded the territory of Gubbio with his terrible free lances. On the first occasion he was repulsed with great vigour by the Eugubini, who defended themselves heroically; he, however, sacked the neighbouring contrade and retired to Assisi, which he retook, much to the chagrin of Guidantonio.

Emboldened by this success, Fortebraccio returned to Gubbio on the 9th January 1420, and besieged her for three days up to her very walls. He did not succeed in forcing an entrance, but nevertheless did considerable damage, giving to the flames the Spedale della Giunta, the Borgo of Porta Marmorea, and the Borgo of Sta. Lucia.

The last struggle cost Necciolo Gabrielli his life, for he was taken with his brother Gabriele at Serra Sant'Onda, and, by order of Guidantonio was brought to Gubbio and hanged on the tower of the Porta Marmorea.¹ This terrible fate so intimidated the Gabrielli that the remainder of the family submitted definitively, renouncing for ever all their rights, and even yielding up the castle of Frontone, the last relic of their independence.

We have but few details of Guidantonio's personal history. Reposati describes him as "a prince of great prudence and goodness, a lover of justice, and

¹ Later Porta Trasimeno, no longer existing save in name.

a conserver of peace and tranquillity amongst his subjects, by whom he was loved and revered."

He fixed the succession first on his legitimate son Odd'Antonio, to revert, in case of failure, to Federico, his natural son. It would almost seem that this provision was suggested by the spirit of prophecy; and, in fact, his last years were darkened by a fatal prediction relating to Odd'Antonio, foretold by an astrologer named Antonio Medici. Guidantonio himself sought by good and pious deeds to avert the wrath of God, but, saddened by the death of his wife and haunted by the terrible fate foreshadowed for his son, he was unable when assailed by a fever to shake off its effects, and death ensued (21st February 1443).

Guidantonio's premonition was but too well justified. Odd'Antonio had reigned but seventeen months when he was murdered by a band of conspirators, according to some historians, at the instigation of Sigismondo Malatesta, who coveted his patrimony; others attribute it to the private revenge of certain citizens whose honour he had outraged by his licentious conduct.

The story of his brief life shows him to have been the victim of the cupidity of two individuals, who deliberately set themselves the easy task of corrupting a weak but amiable nature.

The boy was but eighteen years of age when his father died in 1443. We read of his journeying to Siena to swear obedience to Pope Eugenius IV., who, notwithstanding that he had been less well disposed towards Guidantonio than his predecessor Pope Martin V. had been, was nevertheless so agreeably impressed by the admirable gifts, the

delightful courtesy, and above all, by the personal charm of the youth, that he welcomed him with special cordiality and kindness, and conferred on him the title of Duke of Urbino.

A marriage was suggested with Isotta—or Isabella—sister of the Marquis of Ferrara, but was never consummated.

Berni¹ speaks of Odd'Antonio as "a learned and sweet youth of charming manners, cruelly corrupted by others." It would appear that Sigismondo Malatesta, under the guise of friendship, sent two individuals, named severally Manfredi de Pii and Tommaso de Rimini, to aid and counsel him in governing his state. Their secret design was to render him odious to his subjects in order that their patron, Sigismondo Malatesta, might step in and reap the harvest of their evil influence. This fiendish plan succeeded but too well.

Young as was Odd'Antonio, his life became a byword for licentiousness, though Berni constantly affirms that he was not by nature and inclination vicious, but he was rather the victim of false friends and cruel advisers.

The final act in this short but tragic career was brought about by a certain Serafino Serafini, Doctor of Medicine, of ancient and noble lineage of Urbino, who refused to suffer unrevengeed an insult offered to his honour through his wife.²

Secretly, by night, the conspirators entered the palace and killed Manfredi and Tommaso. It is

¹ Berni, *op. cit.*

² An old chronicler tersely observes: "The Duke was slain by the citizens because he had little respect for their wives by night or by day."

not known by whose hand Odd'Antonio fell, nor whether his death was intentional;¹ the Abbate Baldi relates that "the conspirators did not wish to offend the young Duke." He further describes a pathetic incident that occurred the day before Odd'Antonio's death, which reads almost like a prevision on the part of the Duke of his untimely end.

"In his usual study of Cicero the previous day with his tutor, Agostino Dati, Odd'Antonio had reasoned long on death, as if he could not quit the subject. And at length had said with great modesty, 'Dear Master, I know that to-day I have been too insistent and have wearied you more than I ought to have done. Bear with me, I entreat you, in this tediousness of mine, for the tender love that you have always shown me. I thank God that He has been pleased to reveal to me the greatness of your soul and to render me grateful. Retire now, if you like, to your room.' So saying, with great benignity, he also retired to repose; and it seemed like a fatal, last withdrawal of himself, for the unfortunate youth was so soon to be slaughtered like an innocent lamb."

For a brief period this horrible catastrophe plunged the state in doubt as to the succession. The news of his brother's assassination reached Federico during the siege of Pesaro by Sigismondo Malatesta, 22nd July 1444. Urbino weighed his claims in the balance, undecided whether to prefer submission to the Church. They did not hesitate long, however; the great affection they bore to the

¹ *Vita e fatti di Federico di Montefeltro*. Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana.



WIFE OF FEDERICO OF MONTEFELTRO

To face p. 86.



FEDERICO OF MONTEFELTRO

To face p. 87.

house of Montefeltro in general, and to the person of Federico in particular, determined them to call on him to rule over them. Federico was greatly moved by this generous appeal, considering his own recall an act of supreme magnanimity by a people so justly outraged against his family. The Urbini met him at the gate of the city and called on him to swear, in the first place, to pardon the crime of his brother's murder, and to observe the demands of the people contained in an instrument already drawn up. To all he willingly consented ; he was thus elected by the voice of the people, and his secretary, Pier Antonio Peltroni, observes, "there was not one dissentient voice."

Reposati thus writes of him : "He was of such rare virtues, such admirable actions, and such high military prowess that copious volumes have been written about him."

Federico was born at Gubbio, 7th June, 1422, but there is a mystery overshadowing his birth. Dennistoun¹ mentions no less than six theories as to his parentage ; but the evidence most usually accepted would prove him to have been a natural son of Guidantonio by a young lady of the family of the Ubaldini. He was legitimised in 1425 by Pope Martin V. and fully confirmed in all the honours and dignities of his paternal house, without prejudice whatever to his succession.

At the age of eight years he was betrothed to Gentile, daughter of Bartolomeo Brancalone (last male of his race) and Giovanna di Beltrano Alidosi da Imola. Of her father we know little beyond the touching epitaph inscribed to his memory by

¹ Dennistoun, "Memoirs of the Duke of Urbino."

his wife in the Church of S. Francesco at Mercatelli: "Giovanna Alidosi during her life erected this monument of affection to Bartolomeo Brancalone, prince of this place, her most faithful husband, and to herself."

From the age of eight to eleven Federico was educated under the care of this "prudent and virtuous lady." The marriage was deferred till 1437; but after its celebration in his fifteenth year (2nd December 1437) he at once entered upon the government of his wife's paternal fief.

Meantime, in 1432, he was sent to Venice as hostage to Eugenius IV. It is related that "he treated so learnedly with the senators and showed so much erudition, prudence, and talent, such as none of his house had yet evinced, that he acquired the esteem of all."

The plague having appeared, he was permitted by the Pope to quit Venice for Mantua, where he studied the liberal arts under Vittorino da Feltro, one of the most remarkable scientists of his day, who, in 1445, had been induced by Gian Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, to remove his already celebrated school to that city, for the special education of his children. Vittorino was at the same time permitted to receive young princes from other courts. To this famous school, therefore, Federico repaired.

It will thus be seen that already, before his succession, Federico's youth had given ample promise in the bud, of the noble fruit that was to develop later.

Gubbio welcomed him with extraordinary manifestations of joy, Federico being by birth their own

fellow-citizen. Federico acquired the allégiance and affection of the Sforza family by concluding an arrangement with consummate diplomatic skill, "prompted by his goodness of heart," by which Pesaro and Fossombrone should pass, by payment, from the hands of Galeazzo Malatesta into those of Francesco Sforza. Francesco made Federico his captain-general, and Pergola was again wrested from the Malatesta.

But, internal dissensions had reduced Francesco Sforza to great straits. His brother Alessandro had ceded Pesaro into the hands of the Pope, and Francesco Sforza found himself constrained to fly for refuge to Gubbio, with his wife Bianca and their children. All Federico's allies tried to dissuade him from continuing to help and protect the Sforza, calling him "obstinate rather than magnanimous" for his fidelity to their cause. But Federico's steadfast character was of such a high and noble quality that he could afford to disregard the opinion of others in matters in which he was convinced of the wisdom of his own judgment. He had no other object in aiding Francesco Sforza than the honourable maintenance of his promise; he therefore sought to tranquillise his fears by assuring him that he, himself, would rather forfeit his State and lose his own life than fail in his given word. The whole of Italy was stupefied at the firmness of Federico and lost in admiration of his constancy. His own States of Urbino and Gubbio remonstrated with him, but Federico remained unshaken.

The contests of the Sforza and Malatesta do not immediately concern our little city of Gubbio,

except in so far as they relate to the person and movements of Federico himself. The Eugubini constantly aided him in his wars with the treacherous Lord of Rimini. On one occasion when Sigismondo Malatesta and his followers had to fly before the arms of Federico, Berni writes that "their best arms that day were their spurs."

Pope Eugenius IV. died in 1447, and was succeeded by Nicholas V., who, really loving peace and desiring to restore harmony between the contentious states, absolved Federico from the censure under which he had fallen during the previous pontificate, for his so-called contumacy in embracing the cause of Francesco Sforza. He fully restored him to grace and favour and to all his privileges, and to the quiet enjoyment of his possessions in Urbino, Gubbio, Fossombrone, Cagli, and elsewhere, granting him a Brief to this effect 22nd September 1447.

In 1453 the news of the taking of Constantinople by Mahomet II. flashed through Western Europe, to the distress and consternation of Pope Nicholas V. and of all the princes of Italy, and to the dismay of the Venetians in particular, who feared that their turn might come next. In face of this great common danger all private feuds were laid aside.

But, as usual, peace lasted but for a short time, and we soon find Federico again at odds with his constant enemy, Sigismondo Malatesta. The Duke of Modena sought to conciliate these two powerful rivals, and a meeting was arranged which resulted instead in the widening of the breach. Sigismondo, bursting into insulting language, drew his sword

"and," says the old historian, "with an heretical oath hissed out these words, '*Io ti caverò le budella,*' to which Federico replied, '*Io ti caverò il cuore.*'"¹

The Duke of Modena, seeing that all hope of pacification was at an end, took Federico by the arm and led him away, commanding his retainers to keep a guard over these two antagonists as long as they should remain in Modena, lest some grave scandal might ensue. The following day Federigo departed, and passing by way of Faenza, Casentino, Arezzo, and Cortona, arrived at Gubbio on the feast of S. Ubaldo; he stayed but a short time, however, proceeding to Urbino, and finally, in June 1457, to Naples, where he hoped to obtain assistance to curb the pride of Sigismondo Malatesta.

Whilst Federico was at Naples his wife, Gentile Brancalione, passed from this life without having borne him any son or child whatever. Baldi quaintly observes that "her barrenness was due to the great stoutness of her body." Federico appears to have been greatly attached to her, however, and we not infrequently find her going out into camp to meet him, when his military expeditions brought him into her neighbourhood.

The few details of Federico's domestic life that we glean from the copious narratives of his military exploits show him to have been a man worthy of devotion. Dennistoun remarks of him: "A prince whose engagements were observed with rare fidelity, whose chivalrous honour was happily combined with practical good sense and unflinching justice,

¹ Sigismondo: "I will tear out thy guts."

Federico: "I will tear out thy heart."

must have been necessarily a good husband and a kind master."

"But, in accordance with the habits of his age and the calls of his profession of condottiere, most of his time was passed in the field."

In view of the hopeless barrenness of his marriage with Gentile, he obtained the legitimisation of his natural sons Buonconte and Antonio, youths of great promise ; but Antonio having been sent on a mission to Alfonso, King of Naples, died there of the plague, and another brother, Bernardino, who had accompanied him, scarcely survived his return.

A proposal was made to Federico by Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, that he should marry his niece Battista, daughter of Alessandro, Lord of Pesaro, who was now about thirteen years of age. It is interesting to know that Federico had been instrumental in obtaining for Alessandro Sforza the hand of Costanza Varana, the lady of his ardent desire, daughter of the Lord of Camerino, and granddaughter of the despicable Lord of Pesaro, from whom that State had been purchased by Francesco Sforza for his brother Alessandro. The fruit of this union was Battista, who became the much loved second wife of Federico, thus described by him after her death, "The beloved consort of my fortunes and domestic cares, the delight equally of my public and private hours." Having lost her parents early she was educated at the court of her uncle Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. The marriage was celebrated at Urbino, 10th February 1460.

Battista is described as "diminutive in person" ; she inherited, however, the gifts and talents of her

grandmother Battista di Montefeltro. On the visit of Pope Pius II. (*Æneas Piccolomini* of Siena) to Mantua, she, as a child, publicly recited a Latin oration in his honour.

No sooner had Federico terminated his marriage celebrations, than he was off to the wars again.

In 1461 Battista, "finding herself so long deprived of her consort, came to Gubbio for distraction in the carnival, 25th February 1461, where she had never yet been, and there were solemn feste."

"On the 20th March she went to Magliano, in Sabina, hoping to find her husband there; but she failed to find him, for Pope Pius II. had sent to confer with him on what could be done that year in Campagna. In the month of May Battista returned to Gubbio by way of Assisi, without having had the consolation of seeing her beloved husband again."

Battista evidently liked Gubbio. For her pleasure the Ducal Palace was begun by Federico in 1470, an imitation, on a smaller scale, of the celebrated Palace of Urbino, also called *La Corte*.

Battista gave Federico eight daughters, but in eleven years of happy marriage no son had been born to them. An heir who should inherit the qualities of so noble a father and so justly beloved a ruler, was the ardent desire, not only of Battista herself, but of all Federico's subjects. *Odasio* relates that "Battista hesitated not to offer her own life in return for the boon of a son worthy of his father." During her residence in Gubbio she had a dream in which she saw "a lonely phoenix perched upon a lofty tree, which, after sitting there

for thirty-six days, winged its flight heavenwards until it touched the sun, and then disappeared in flames." She was determined that her son should be born in the city of her dream ; accordingly "il mammolino del Signore," as he is tenderly described in a contemporary MS., was born at Gubbio in the month of January 1472, and received the name of Guid'Ubaldo in thankful recognition of the intercession of the patron saint. It is further related that the infant received the chrism (anointing with holy oil) at the age of three months from the hands of Cardinal Bessarione, called Niceno, Papal Legate at the Courts of France, England, and Burgundy.

No sooner was his son born than Federico was called away by the Florentines to conduct a campaign against Volterra. A great battle was fought, but Federico, as usual, showed himself most humane and generous towards his fallen foes. His return to Florence was a triumphal pageant. Every kind of honour was poured upon him by its grateful and enthusiastic citizens. Hastening homewards in happy anticipation of the sympathetic joy with which his dear companion would share his triumphs and honours, an express met him with alarming tidings of Battista's health. Riding night and day he reached Gubbio on the 6th July, just in time to close her eyes. Her vow was accepted—her life was given for her son's.

Part of Federico's own letter to the Duke of Milan thus expresses his grief: "The affair of Volterra, the honours with which the distinguished government of Florence had complimented me, and my secret delight whilst returning homewards to rejoice my circle, my sweet children, my wife—



FEDERICO OF MONTEFELTRO, DUCA D'URBINO

To face p. 95.

precious above aught else—these all at once transmuted by a death-blow, to me the most calamitous.” Also his reply to the Pope’s letter of condolence: “For many reasons her death was a grievous vexation, for she was the beloved consort of my fortunes and domestic cares, the delight equally of my public and private hours, so that no greater misfortune could have befallen me.”

Federico retired to Urbino, and refrained from any military engagement until 1474, dedicating himself instead to the government of his State, and to the completion of his superb palace there.

In 1474 (23rd March) the title of Duke of Urbino, which appears to have lapsed after the murder of Odd’Antonio, was again conferred on Federico by Pope Sixtus IV., and to it was added that of Gonfaloniere of Holy Church.

The Pope, in consideration of the high qualities and great merits of Federico, was desirous of establishing more intimate relations between his own family and the Montefeltri. He therefore arranged a marriage between his nephew Giovanni di Raffaele della Rovere, Duke of Sora, and Giovanna, daughter of Federico, and invested the youthful bridegroom with the Vicariate of Sinigaglia, at the same time placing him under the charge of Federico until he should be of age to marry.

In 1474 the English Order of the Garter was conferred on Federico. It had been instituted by Edward III. in 1344, and was renowned and esteemed throughout the Continent of Europe.

Dennistoun tells us that at the Chapter held on February 26th, 1474, four votes were given to Federico, whose reputation as one of the finest and

most distinguished soldiers of his time had penetrated even to the distant shores of England. On the 18th of the same year he was unanimously elected, and during the autumn his investiture took place, his relative Pietro degli Ubaldini being commissioned to proceed to England, as proxy, for his installation.

In 1477 Federico, in the name of the Pontiff, took arms against Carlo, the son of Braccio Fortebraccio, condottiere of the Venetians, who was menacing Perugia ; he returned victorious.

Italy about this time was disturbed by two conspiracies, the first resulting in the assassination of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, who had not inherited the noble qualities of his father, Francesco Sforza ; and the other in the plot against Lorenzo dei Medici, and the murder of his brother Giuliano.

The Duchess of Milan called on Federico to aid her against the brothers of her murdered husband, who had taken her son out of her protection and had placed the government, instead, in the hands of the Duke's brother Ludovico.

Meanwhile the Turks, after the siege of Rhodes, began to harry the coast of Puglia and took Otranto. The Pope, fearing that they might render themselves masters of the Marche, recalled Federico from Otranto, whither he had flown to the help of Alfonso of Calabria, son of the King of Naples, to defend that territory. But in the month of May 1481 Mahomet II. died, and dissension breaking out between his sons, Otranto was perforce restored to the King of Naples, and "the Pope breathed again."

A fresh question soon arose, however, in Lombardy, in which Pope Sixtus IV. and the Venetians found themselves arrayed against Ludovico Sforza of Milan and Ercole d'Este of Ferrara. Federico's services were as usual called into requisition, and he encamped on the banks of the Po, where, for the first and last time, the great condottiere met with a foe against whom neither his strength of body nor his indomitable military skill were of any avail. A terrible pestilence broke out, produced by bad water and malarious exhalations, which destroyed no less than twenty thousand men. Federico himself fell ill and was taken to Ferrara, where he died at the comparatively early age of sixty, full of honours and of glory. "As he had lived a most virtuous life so he died the death of a Christian, loaded with glory," remarks a chronicler of the time.

Reposati thus writes of him¹ :—

"Never was there a Prince nor a League that did not seek to retain his services for war after once having secured them. He had from Pope Sixtus the Golden Rose, besides the dignity of Duke; also the great cap of Generalship and the sword, which according to ancient Roman custom the Pontiffs bestowed as a gift upon valorous Princes who had specially earned the goodwill of the Holy See. Not amongst Christians alone was his name celebrated, but reached even to the Infidels, amongst whom he was held in such esteem that Usuncanano, most powerful king of Persia, in sending ambassadors to the principal Christian Princes, commanded them specially to visit, in his name, Federico of

¹ Reposati, *Storia della Zecca*.

Urbino, which they did, moved solely by the fame of his glorious enterprises, which had spread throughout the world. He was known also by Mahomet II., Sultan of Turkey, as 'The Great Christian.'"

"The following is a description of his person and character :—

"Federico was of ordinary height, but well made and proportioned, and of pleasing personality. Dexterous and robust, patient in suffering cold, heat, hunger, and thirst, want of sleep, fatigues of any kind, so that it seemed as if none of these things had any power to do him harm. In demeanour he was light-hearted and affable, and without anger or irritation ; most modest in speech and sober in his habits, for having been once attacked by the gout he refrained from drinking wine, and lived for the future so much by rule that never after was he troubled by it. Of his religion and piety the churches and monasteries built by him bear witness ; and amongst others the beautiful church of S. Bernardino with its convent, which lies outside Urbino, a spot as delightful as religious."

The peculiar form of the bridge of his nose, shown in the well-known portrait in the Uffizi Gallery, was due to an accident, a lance-thrust having pierced his vizor in a tournament, by which he was also deprived of the sight of one eye.

His palace at Gubbio he left unfinished ; it was, however, completed by his son Guidubaldo.

During the reign of Federico the silver coinage was introduced into Gubbio, as we find by the "*Libri delle Riforme*."¹

¹ *Libri delle Riforme*. Archivio,

Guidubaldo,¹ who succeeded Federico, was also born, it will be remembered, at Gubbio. He was but ten years of age at the death of his illustrious father, but during his minority the government was conducted, in accordance with the will of Federico, by Ottaviano Ubaldini, his near connection.

Pope Sixtus IV. was well disposed towards the young duke, whose sister had wedded Giovanni della Rovere, his nephew, a union which had led to important results for Gubbio. He died, however, in 1484, and was succeeded by Innocent VIII., who having also been the firm friend of Federico, was inclined to favour Guidubaldo.

About 1485 difficulties arose with regard to the Castle of Petroia, belonging to the city of Gubbio, but claimed by a certain Ugolino Bandi. Guidubaldo destroyed the castle; Ugolino and his sons thereupon appealed to Pope Innocent, who commanded Guidubaldo to restore the castle to its former state and to pay a fine. Guidubaldo refused to obey, and the Pope sent a mandate couched in angry terms. Guidubaldo replied with modest letters, giving his just reasons, and was fortunate enough to convince the Holy Father, so that the affair terminated amicably.

In 1489 Guidubaldo, having reached the age of seventeen, his subjects begged him to take a wife.

¹ "On the second day of the month of February was baptized the Mammolo del Signore, and it was the day of S. Biagio here in our church, and great rejoicings were made and a magnificent feast for everybody. The name Ubaldo was given to him in the pious belief that his birth was obtained by a miracle or at the intercession of the Holy Bishop, protector of Gubbio" (*Cronaca Antica*).

His choice fell on Elizabetta, daughter of Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, and the marriage was fixed for the autumn. At the same time the sister of Elizabetta was betrothed to Giovanni di Alessandro Sforza of Pesaro. The marriage took place in October 1489, and was a source of great contentment to all Guidubaldo's subjects, who looked forward with confidence to the maintenance of the ducal line of Montefeltro by direct succession.

But their hopes were doomed to disappointment. It was soon known to the young couple that their ardent desire was destined to remain unfulfilled, in consequence of infirmities in the constitution of Guidubaldo, which, having baffled medical skill, were attributed to the malign effects of sorcery. Baldi boldly attributes this misfortune to the action of a certain individual, "who should least have resorted to such malevolence," but who for his own private ends bewitched the person of the young duke so as to render him impotent.

This individual was no other than Ottaviano Ubaldini, the trusted friend of the great Federico, chosen by him to be the guardian of Guidubaldo during his minority. It has been hinted that Ottaviano hoped to secure the succession for his own son; if so, he was foiled in his intention, for this son, a young man of great promise, died before him, at an early age, and the succession passed to the della Rovere.

Elizabetta bore her disappointment with great courage and resignation, and the fact of the duke's infirmity was kept a profound secret, in the distant hope that medical skill might yet prevail. Guidu-

baldo, on his part, sought to comfort and distract his wife by amusements and exercises, with music, tournaments, and the chase, of which she was passionately fond. Elizabetta, naturally of a joyous disposition, tried to conceal from her husband her own sorrow, and their court has been immortalised by the Conte Castiglione in his *Corteggiano*, as the centre of wit and learning and the home of fine and noble minds.

The pacific tendencies of Pope Innocent VIII. coincided with those of Guidubaldo, but Innocent dying in July 1492, was succeeded by a Pope of a very different mould. Roderigo Borgia assumed the papal tiara under the title of Alexander VI.

The first years of Guidubaldo's rule were fairly peaceful. He had time to complete the palace of Gubbio, begun by his illustrious father, and to attend to his possessions, but all this changed after the accession of Alexander VI.

Guidubaldo was called upon to act as intermediary in arranging certain formalities on the occasion of the marriage of Lucrezia Borgia with Giovanni Sforza, Lord of Pesaro, whose first wife had been Guidubaldo's sister.

His services were subsequently employed to crush the Orsini, who had become more powerful than was desirable in the eyes of the Pontiff. The expedition was for the time successful, but the Orsini awaited a fitting opportunity for their retaliation.

Finally, in 1502, the State of Urbino was assailed by Cesare Borgia, and for more than a year became the scene of his atrocities. In the

month of October the Eugubini rose in favour of Guidubaldo, but soon after their city was occupied by Galeotto Malatesta, who fought on the side of the Duke of Valentino; and Guidubaldo, in the month of December, was forced by a fraudulent compact to yield up his States to his implacable enemy, who had undermined him by deceit and corruption. The Eugubini, described by a contemporary writer as "a pugnacious people, devoted to the Feltreschi," sent infantry troops and a squadron of cavalry to the aid of Urbino under the leadership of Gentile Ubaldini.

Cesare Borgia having made himself master of Urbino, set himself the task of driving the Baglioni from Perugia, and Pandolfo Petrucci from Siena. He next transferred himself to Gubbio, which was governed in his name by a certain Vandino Vandinis di Faventia.

There is no record of the length of Cesare Borgia's sojourn in Gubbio; but it cannot have been many days, for he moved on to Sinigaglia. S. Leo alone, of all his strongholds, held out for Guidubaldo, until it was surrendered by the treachery of its governor, Ludovico Scarmiglione of Foligno, to his lasting dishonour. He subsequently ventured to present himself to Guidubaldo in his exile at Venice, lamenting his misfortune, and expressing his readiness to make an effort for the reconquest of the fortress. To this transparent excuse Guidubaldo replied, "Give yourself no further trouble as to that; your having lost it was already one step towards its recovery!"

Guidubaldo's words were prophetic. Within the walls of S. Leo dwelt a citizen of very different

stamp, Gian Battista Brizio, who had been trained and educated under Duke Federico, and had learned under his tuition the duties of a gallant soldier and a loyal subject. He, in concert with the engineer who was employed to repair the fortifications, introduced into the town, one by one, part of the old militia on whose fidelity he could depend, disguised as peasants, and they, on the 5th October, caused the drawbridge to be jammed, as if by accident, with some large logs of timber. The pretended peasants further overwhelmed the garrison, and, with the help of other members of their band outside the walls, surprised and seized the citadel and massacred Cesare's followers to the cry of "Feltro! Feltro!" The insurrection spread in a marvellously short time and reached Urbino and Gubbio on the 8th October. Fossombrone also declared itself for Duke Guidubaldo. The natural position of S. Leo is so singular that a description of its situation is almost necessary to enable the reader to grasp the difficulties of the enterprise. Two lofty eminences, S. Leo and Mainolo, apparently of volcanic formation, rise solitary, many hundred feet above the neighbouring mountain passes. These two mighty rocks, divided by a deep cleft, give the impression of having once formed a single mountain top; they now stand separate, in majestic solitude like two gigantic sugar loaves, each crowned by its collection of houses or "paese." S. Leo has an almost impregnable fortress approached by a zig-zag road of really terrific steepness, with a sheer precipice on one side and a glaxis-like slope of rock upon the other hardly more reassuring. Half-way up stands

the town with its cathedral, above that again the citadel.¹

In the month of August 1503 Pope Alexander VI. "passed to his own place," and the fortunes of Cesare Borgia declined with his father's demise.

The news of the Pope's death was the signal for the instant recall of Guidubaldo by all his subjects in Urbino and elsewhere, so greatly was he beloved. One of his first acts was to demolish everywhere the fortresses in his dominions, for he had learnt but too well, how they had proved to be rather points of vantage to his enemies than strongholds for his own territory. The remains of the fortress of Gubbio, thus destroyed, may be seen a little above the Ducal Palace on the way to the aqueduct; nothing but a few crumbling walls remain to indicate the spot.

Pope Alexander VI. was succeeded by Julius II.,² brother of Giovanni della Rovere, the husband of Guidubaldo's sister.

In 1504 Guidubaldo and his consort, Elizabetta Gonzaga, having lost all hope of a son, formally adopted their nephew, Francesco Maria della Rovere, presenting him with great solemnity as their future heir in the Cathedral of Urbino, Gubbio being represented on the occasion by her

¹ The writer is unaware whether S. Leo excites the curiosity of any tourist at the present day, but its unique and singular position would undoubtedly offer interest of an extremely unusual order, and a wild picturesqueness and grandeur almost incomparable.

² The well-known portrait of this famous Pope exists in the Pitti Palace at Florence. Many replicas are to be found in other cities; one in the National Gallery, London.

bishop, Francesco della Rovere, and a special commission of citizens.

In 1506 Pope Julius possessed himself of Perugia, depriving Paolo Baglioni of the government, and passing by Gubbio on his way to Romagna, was magnificently entertained by Duke Guidubaldo, who accompanied him on his enterprise with a troop of 4000 chosen men.

After a blameless life Duke Guidubaldo died on the 3rd April 1508 at Fossombrone, to the inexpressible sorrow of his devoted wife Elizabetta, and lamented and mourned by all his subjects with special sorrow and regret, as the last of the splendid line of the Montefeltri.

It was feared that difficulties might arise as to the succession of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Gubbio, in particular, having shown signs of discontent. But there was no choice, and Francesco Maria entered into possession of his dukedom without active opposition.

As long as Pope Julius II. occupied the papal throne there was peace for Francesco Maria, and the old patriarchal form of government, that had continued so long, was maintained; but when he was succeeded by Pope Leo X. of the house of Medici, these tranquil days were at an end. Like Alexander VI., Pope Leo desired nothing better than to enrich his own family at the cost of any one who was unable to resist him. Whilst Giuliano dei Medici, his brother, lived, Pope Leo was restrained from carrying out his nefarious schemes, for Giuliano was not unmindful of the benefits received from the Court of Urbino during the time that the Medici were exiled from Florence, and strenuously

opposed the contemplated usurpation, entering into a distinct understanding on the subject with Francesco Maria at Gubbio in 1513, whilst on a visit to the Ducal Palace.

But Giuliano died in 1516, and his unscrupulous brother took immediate steps to carry out his deferred project, driving Francesco Maria from his States by means both of his spiritual and temporal power, establishing Lorenzo his nephew (nephew also of the more honourable Giuliano) as lord over the territory of Urbino, and of all the cities that had formerly belonged to the Montefeltri.

Lorenzo was solemnly invested with the title of Duke of Urbino by his uncle, Pope Leo X., on the 18th August 1516.

Francesco Maria sought an asylum at Mantua, but, finding himself menaced even here, by assassination, he determined to make a desperate effort to regain his patrimony with an army recruited in Romagna. Gubbio and Cagli were delighted to join in the enterprise under the leadership of Carlo Gabrielli, who had the courage to close the gates of the city in face of the Papal army led by the Baglioni of Perugia, after which successful repulse he led his troops to the assistance of Francesco Maria. The war lasted eight months with varying fortunes, the brave Gabrielli always distinguishing himself by his heroism; it was, however, but a forlorn hope. Francesco Maria found it impossible to maintain his scanty forces against the far superior army of his Papal adversary; he was therefore compelled to yield with certain stipulations, which, however, the Medici failed to observe.

Military Prowess of the Eugubini 107

Lorenzo died on the 4th May 1519, and Urbino was declared a part of the States of the Church. Leo X., with great subtlety, contrived to stir up internal strife and rivalry amongst its citizens, with the view of maintaining more securely his grasp over the territory of Urbino. He destroyed besides the walls of nearly all the cities belonging to this State, except those of Gubbio, whither he transferred the seat of government, nominating her capital of the dukedom in the place of Urbino, as heretofore, under the governorship of Carlo Boschetti.

On the death of the Pope in 1521 Francesco Maria invaded his State afresh, and this time was more successful. Before many months had passed, he had reacquired all his territory, as Guidubaldo had done after the death of Alexander VI. The government was restored to Urbino, and Gubbio had more cause to rejoice over the return of her rightful Lord, than to lament her loss of position.

In 1529 a change took place in the form of government at Gubbio. By express desire of the regent, Elizabetta Gonzaga, widow of Guidubaldo I., contained in a letter addressed to Count Guido Beni, dated 17th December of that year, it was ordained that the Gonfaloniere should be chosen for the future exclusively from the ranks of the nobility.

From 1527 to 1530 Gubbio, like many other cities of Italy, was devastated by the bubonic plague, during which time no less than 14,000 persons perished in the city and the adjacent countryside.

Francesco Maria died on the 20th October 1538, and was succeeded by his son Guidubaldo II.

Hardly had Guidubaldo succeeded to his father than Pope Paul III., imitating his predecessors, the Borgia and Medici, sought to obtain possession of the dukedom of Urbino for his son, Pier Luigi Farnese; commanding Guidubaldo to yield, not only the dukedom of Camerino, that had come to him as the dowry of his wife, Giulia Varano, but also his own patrimony of Urbino.

Guidubaldo took to arms and defended his State with all the forces he was able to collect. Gubbio was, however, left in an alarmingly undefended position, exposed to the advance of 12,000 of the Farnese troops from the direction of Valfabbrica. The citizens prepared to resist as best they could, and having vowed to the Madonna to establish the confraternity of the Misericordia if she would come to their aid, prepared for battle.

Stout hearts were not wanting. The captain of the people, a brave soldier named Aquilante, determined to attempt to defend the Castle of Valfabbrica, in order to delay the advance of the Papal troops on Gubbio as long as possible. To this end he gathered together a few souls as valiant as himself, who, with a handful of peasants, shut themselves up in the fortress, resolved to win or die. Nature abetted them; it was the month of December, mid-winter, and the snow fell thickly for several days. The army of Farnese judged it more prudent to withdraw.

Not long after this event Guidubaldo entered into a pacific arrangement with the Pope by which he consented to resign his rights over Camerino.

The subsequent history of Gubbio during the long reign of Guidubaldo II. offers no points of

special interest, either in her own local affairs or in regard to Urbino.

The condottiere spirit of the Eugubini prompted them ever to seek distinction in the career of arms. An anecdote of the battle of Lepanto relates that the Archduke John of Austria, finding that so many of his officers were citizens of Gubbio, exclaimed, "What then is this Gubbio? Is she greater than Naples and Milan, or what is she?" During the sixteenth century Gubbio remained the principal city of the dukedom for military glory; the "Letters" of Armanni¹ contain a long list of notable names distinguished not only in Italy, but in Flanders and elsewhere. It is related that in 1554 three citizens of Gubbio, valiantly and alone, held the bridge of Valliano against an entire band of German mercenaries led by the Marquis of Marignano, in order to cover the retreat of Pietro Strozzi, and there heroically died.

Guidubaldo II. died the 28th September 1574, and was succeeded by his only son Francesco Maria II., the last of the Dukes of Urbino, over which State he ruled for fifty-seven years.

The only special fact relating to Gubbio during the reign of Francesco Maria II. was the reform of her laws and statutes by the illustrious juriconsult Giacomo Beni, approved by the duke in a decree dated 31st May 1624.

In 1607 Francesco Maria further changed the fundamental constitution of the State, and instituted a council to consist of eight members, one from each of the seven principal cities, and one for the

¹ Armanni, *Lettere* (Biblioteca Sperelliana).

whole, to reside in Urbino. Girolamo Cantelmaggi was chosen to represent Gubbio, and, in 1609, was followed by Count Giulio Gabrielli, son of the celebrated Carlo Gabrielli, who contributed so much to the restoration of Francesco Maria I.

In 1628 Francesco Maria II. had the great misfortune of losing, unexpectedly, his only son, Federico, a son born when he himself was already advanced in years. And thus perished the last hope of the continuance of the two great lines of Montefeltro and della Rovere.

The father and son had never been united either in feeling or in aims, but the grief of Francesco Maria II. at the failure of the succession was very genuine. To him, however, it seemed the hand of fate, the act of God, and it needed but little persuasion on the part of Pope Urban VIII. to induce him to execute a deed, bequeathing his entire possessions to the Church. The act was attested in Rome the 30th April 1624.

Don Taddeo Barberini, nephew of the Pope, immediately took formal possession of the principal cities, lands, and castles of the dukedom, and appointed as first governor Bellingerio Gessi, Bishop of Rimini, but the supreme authority remained in the hands of Francesco Maria II. during his lifetime.

In 1627 Count Solone Campello, of Spoleto, became administrator for the Holy See, and continued in office till the death of Francesco Maria, April 28, 1631. Thus democratic Gubbio became at length an integral part of the Papal dominions.

From this moment her particular and independent

Gubbio Ceded to the Papal States 111

history ends ; she became part of a great system. And here also we must bid her farewell.

Valiant, heroic Gubbio ! You fought and fought well as long as arms and stout hearts could aid you. But you voluntarily gave up your independence to Count Antonio of Montefeltro ; you enjoyed one of your most brilliant periods under his noble descendant Federico, and finally, by the inscrutable decree of fate, causing a double failure in the succession, you lost anew and for ever your independence, either aristocratic or democratic.

We wait, and not without trepidation, to see how you will work out your destiny under Vittorio Emanuele III., for you are democratic still at heart, and democracy not unfrequently, amongst the youth of Italy, spells socialism and even anarchy !

CHAPTER VII

THE PALAZZO DEI CONSOLI

THE footsteps of the visitor naturally conduct him first to this spot, but, before going up to the Piazza della Signoria, the palaces should be seen from the Via Baldassini below, to gain the earliest striking impression of their vast height, an impression much strengthened by the contrast of the warm glow of the sunshine on the façade, with the depths of the dark shadow beneath the mighty arches that support the piazza. The Palazzo dei Consoli rises ninety-eight metres from its base to the summit of the tower. It is built of the calcareous stone of the country, and time and weather have mellowed the colour, to a deep rich brown. The huge iron rings, similar to those of the Palazzo Strozzi at Florence and the Palazzo Piccolomini at Siena, should be noticed.

Mounting by the zigzag Via Francesco Bartocci to the left (formerly Rampa, detta del Montarone), and looking upwards, we see the uncompleted project of an approach to the piazza, that would have been a stupendous feat of engineering, had it ever been carried into effect. A road was designed to lead downwards from the piazza along the side of the palace, slanting, by an inclined plane under the



PALAZZO DEI CONSOLI

(From the Via Baldassini)

To face p. 112.

loggia, athwart the façade, that would have reached the quarter of S. Martino, probably on lofty arches similar to those that sustain the piazza. Looking down this incline, from above, it almost makes us dizzy to see it end in space, the roadway merely closed by a rough wall, for safety, when the project was abandoned. Continuing upwards, we cross the Via della Zecca, here pause and look, again, at the archways and windows, closed by stout doors or shutters, and meditate on the strength and power of those who conceived such an edifice. Should any of the doors chance to be open, a glance inside will reveal innumerable mysterious arches and apertures and upward-leading stairways, but, if you ask any of the occupants, who are quietly plying their trades of carpenter or coachbuilder, whither these passages conduct, they will give you the characteristic Italian answer, "Chi lo sa?" (Who knows?).

Passing by the Via dei Consoli to the piazza we find ourselves at length in front of the masterpiece of Gattapone. A handsome flight of steps—recently repaired, however, with a stone much too white, and evidently not so durable as that originally used for the construction of the main building—leads up to the principal entrance, over which we see a fresco of the Madonna and Child, with S. Ubaldo and S. John the Baptist, protectors of the city. This fresco was painted by Bernardino di Nanni dell' Eugenia in 1495, but was retouched in the sixteenth century. Although projected in 1321, the palace was not begun till 1332, as the following inscription in Gothic character records. But it was pushed on so quickly that we hear of its

H

being habitable in 1346, although the magistrates did not actually reside there until 1348 :—

ANNO MILLENO TER CENTUM TER QUOQUE DENO : /
AC BINO CEPTUM FUIT HOC OPUS INDEQUE VECTUM
EST UBI COMPLETUS HIC ARCUS LIMINE LETUS : /

POST CEPTUM CUIUS ANNUS QUINUS FUIT HUIUS :
POST ORTUM CHRISTI NUMERO CONCEDAT (OR CON-
CORDAT) ET ISTI / STRUXIT ET IN MENSIS KAL
(ENDIS) ANGELUS URBSVETERENSIS.¹

On the strength of this inscription some critics have wished to attribute the whole architectural design of the palace to Angelo d'Orvieto, but it undoubtedly formed part of the original plan of the famous Matteo di Giovannelli di Matteo, better known as Gattapone, who has been called "one of the rarest geniuses of his epoch," whose marvellous work, beneath the piazza, we have already admired from below. The inscription probably points to Angelo as the sculptor of the beautiful arch of the main doorway.

The arched windows of the lower storey are supported by columns in the centre ; those above are of simpler form, and beneath them runs a string course round the entire building. Above them an arched cornice upholds the square dentelated Guelf battlements, for this building was erected during one of the rare periods when this faction had the pre-eminence. High up at the north-east corner of the palace, on a level with the windows of the top storey, is a strange skeleton construction of iron that recalls the cruel cages in which these warlike medieval cities were wont to exhibit their

¹ So reads the *Canonico Vittorio Pagliari* of Gubbio.

imprisoned enemies to the scorn and hatred of the populace, and often to a terrible death by exposure and starvation. (A perfect example of such a cage



PALAZZO DEI CONSOLI

exists in the restored castle of Vincigliata, near Florence.) Whether this structure was used for such a purpose I have been unable to discover, the opening to it, a sort of square concave aperture,

appears too small for a human being to pass through. To the left, over the unfinished roadway mentioned before, is the beautiful window of the chapel, above it, the clock, the whole surmounted by an exquisite open loggia.

Mounting the steps and entering the building, we find ourselves in a spacious vaulted apartment of enormous dimensions, occupying the whole of the ground floor. In size it recalls the Sala del Cinque Cento in the Palazzo Vecchio at Florence. Here the popular meetings were held; the room above was destined for the Consiglio di Credenza. At the southern end of the hall a steep flight of stone steps leads up to the Sala del Consiglio above; but before leaving this hall a most interesting Latin inscription should be observed. It refers to the restoration of the ancient Teatro Ikuvio, or Umbro-Roman theatre, by a certain Cneus Satrius Rufus in the time of Julius Cæsar, and records the sum contributed by the different legions. This stone was excavated in 1863 from the theatre which lies outside the walls of the city. The following is the exact inscription :—

CN SATRIVS CN F RVFVS IIII VIR IVR DIC
 BASILICAS SVBLAQVEAVIT TRABES TECTI FERRO
 SVFFIXIT
 LAPIDE STRAVIT PODIO CIRCONCLVSIT SVA PEC
 ET DEDIT
 DECVRIONATVS NOMINE H-S 100 00
 IN COMMEATVM LEGIONIBVS H-S 00 00 00 CCCC
 IN AEDEM DIANAE RESTITVENDAM H-S 100
 00 CC
 IN LVDOS VICTORAE CÆSARIS AVGVSTI H-S 100
 00 00 DCCL

Near it is a bombastic eulogy of Dante Alighieri, placed there in 1865 to commemorate his sixth centenary.

On the wall above there is a rough fresco of the Madonna and Child, with S. John the Baptist and S. Ubaldo. The Madonna, contrary to usual custom, wears a white mantle. Both the saints have been very much repainted. It belongs to the School of Nelli in its decay. We learn that Palmerucci executed certain frescoes, notably an Annunciation in the Palazzo dei Consoli, which, however, he never completed; no traces of it are now discoverable, and nothing of his work remains in the palace but the beautiful fresco in the chapel,¹ to which we pass by a door at the foot of the staircase. The Madonna is seated on a white throne, presenting the infant Jesus to the adoration of the Gonfaloniere of the city. Behind him stand S. John the Baptist, S. Anthony, S. Francis, and S. Ubaldo. The Madonna wears a dark-green cloak, probably once blue, her traditional colour, for undoubtedly the tints have changed with time and exposure, her inner dress being of a light colour, not red as is usual. The infant Jesus is very prettily wrapped in his mother's mantle, and wears a curious little green dress, like tapestry. Both mother and child have fair hair. The kneeling figure of the Gonfaloniere is much smaller than those of the four saints, indicating that his status as a mortal was inferior to theirs, who had already left this world; he wears a green robe lined with fur and a red under-dress. On the opposite wall is a painted inscription in Gothic

¹ See page 165.

character, giving good counsel to the citizens. On the wall, outside the chapel, is a sculptured lamb, symbolic of the Redeemer, but probably of later date, as this partition is more recent than the rest of the building. In this same outer room are measures determining the requisite size for bricks of various kinds, also a tile, but this last belongs to the sixteenth century. We next ascend the steep and narrow staircase, well defended by three successive doors, a precaution no doubt extremely necessary in the time when the factions were ever at variance, and doubtless many a stormy and tumultuous scene was enacted in the great hall below. We can well imagine the excited and angry voices all talking at once, when the people were struggling against the tyranny of the nobles, and Guelfs and Ghibellines were striving for the mastery ; we can fancy how an aggressive upward rush might be feared by those who sat in the secret council above. An aperture, over this staircase, allowed the decisions of the upper chamber to reach the expectant crowd in the great hall below.

The space above the great vaulted ceiling is divided into two large apartments with smaller residential rooms leading off, on the northern side. The principal of these two rooms was used for the meetings of the Consiglio di Credenza. The decoration belongs to the period of the Renaissance. In the corner of this room is a beautiful fountain, of *pietra morta*, sculptured with the arms of Gubbio (five mountains surmounted by three lilies), and above are four panels, with human heads, from which the water flowed, surmounted by graceful Renaissance arabesques. The carved legend runs :—

CVRATVS . FONS . AN . A . DEO
NATO : XXX . SVpra . CCC .
OLYMP . POSTR . ID . APRIL :
BIBE . ABLVE . SPECTA . ME .
IN . LOCO . PROBES . LICET .

Over the door leading into the small inner room we read the inscription :—

VITAE FRVGI COMES VIRTVS ET GLORIA

and on the opposite side over the door—

CONCORDIA PARVAE RES CRESCVNT.

The inner room contains a small fountain, probably for domestic purposes, of stone similar to that in the larger room, sculptured with acanthus leaves ; it still has its ancient tap formed like a dog's head. Over the door leading to a still smaller room, on the western side, is the inscription :—

RERVm PVBLICARV MEMORIA,

with the arms of Francesco della Rovere and of the city. The large unglazed windows, far above the heads of people standing in the room, are reached by a steep step with a projection, or seat, at either side ; they were closed in winter, or at night, by wooden shutters. A magnificent view is to be obtained from them, but the visitor is recommended to mount to the roof from whence the whole city is seen lying like a map at one's feet. The vista is also specially beautiful from the open loggia on the southern side.

In the room to the left there is a fine chimney-piece of *pietra serena* adorned with Renaissance

designs ; the doorways also are sculptured as in the first room, but the inscriptions are defaced, and almost illegible. We learn that, in 1341, a certain Rinaldo da Gubbio and frate Giacomo da Camerino worked here in fine mosaic, for the adornment of these apartments, but of this no trace remains. At the same time we read that Palmerucci executed his frescoes, also Bernardino di Nanni dell' Eugenia, Benedetto Nucci, and Felice Damiani, whose works are to be found in most of the churches of Gubbio, but in the Palazzo dei Consoli nothing now remains of their work save the fresco of Palmerucci in the chapel, which we have already seen.

In this room is a sixteenth century fresco of no value artistically, but interesting as recording the legend of S. Francis and the Wolf, with which I shall deal in a separate chapter. Here we see S. Francis on a platform in the centre of the Piazza della Signoria, taking into his hand the paw of the wolf, in sign of agreement to the compact, which is registered in presence of the citizens of Gubbio. Below are two smaller frescoes representing Spadalunga, the friend of S. Francis, clothing him after he had been robbed by the brigands near Assisi. The shop of Spadalunga stood on the spot where the Church of S. Francesco, belonging to the Minori Conventuali, actually stands. Under the fresco is the inscription :—

IGUVIO TUDIRA LUPAE FRANCISCE REPELLIS
HAECNOVAT IGUVIUM MONUMENTA TIBI
MAGISTRATUS
MENSE SEPTEMBRIS ET OCTOR
MDCXII

In the same room are two portraits, probably of members of the Montefeltro family, as the last word beneath one of them, the only one legible, seems to indicate. As works of art they are worthless. Out of this room we pass to the beautiful loggia over the chapel, the roof supported by six sets of double arches. From this position a magnificent view can be obtained, east and south and west, over the plain. The chain of the Apennines closes the valley to the east, and a glimpse can be had of Monte Subasio on the south-east horizon, above the nearer hills. If the visitor is not afraid of giddy heights and has not yet been satiated with the glorious view, a small staircase will take him up to the roof and bell tower, whence a most extensive panorama can be enjoyed. Almost the whole city lies spread at his feet, from S. Agostino, on the extreme left, to the furthest limits of the quarter of S. Martino, and, further still, to the Convent of S. Secondo, beyond the walls, and he may follow the track of the little railway, far up the beautiful valley, towards Umbertide. Leaning out, through the battlements, he may notice many iron sockets and projections to hold banners, similar to those so often remarked in the palaces of Siena and Florence, and rings such as he has already observed in the Via Baldassini below.

An unsuspected storey lies between this platform and the apartments below ; it is reached by a mysterious winding staircase opening from beside one of the windows in the thickness of the wall. It leads to a capacious prison under the roof ; the windows are no longer guarded by strong iron bars, though we see traces of their presence ; the dizzy

height, however, precludes the possibility of escape from such a prison. Access to the outer iron structure I have called a cage may have been obtained from this part of the building, and adds to the probability of its suggested use. In 1356, we read that Galeotto Malatesta was confined in the prison of the Palazzo dei Consoli. Leaving the building, and looking back at it, we fancy there must be many such secret places concealed in different parts, between the stories, to be reached by unseen stairways, for here and there we perceive a small window through which we have not looked.

The ground floor, beneath the grand Sala, is occupied by the Monte di Pietà, and by the offices for the preservation of the Archivio Notarile.

Crossing over the Piazza della Signoria it is well to pause and gaze once more over the plain. The distant hills enclose the view like an enormous amphitheatre. Below, to the right amongst the vineyards and cornfields, lie the ruins of the Umbro-Roman theatre, once situated, according to tradition, in the centre of the city, so far did Gubbio then descend into the plain; later, she climbed the mountain side, and was enclosed within her walls for greater safety. At one period, according to Piccotti, her lowest limit was the moat outside the walls, where is now the Via Baldassini.

The splendid strength of the architectural construction of this piazza has already been noticed from below; it is raised in part upon a great wall of masonry, pierced with many apertures, and partly upon four enormous arches, after the designs of the famous architect, Gattapone, who destined the two palaces, united by the piazza, to

form one complete structure of imposing size and marvellous solidity, intending, moreover, to unite it to the quarter of S. Martino by the long inclined plane, already indicated, on the southern side of the Palazzo dei Consoli. Like the façade of the Palazzo del Pretorio and so many churches in all the cities of Italy, it displays the melancholy fact of a design too ambitious for execution.

The parapet—too high for comfort, though perhaps necessarily high for safety—was added in 1839, and replaced a portico in the corrupt style of the sixteenth century, built in 1520, solely with a view to the convenience of the markets and fairs held on this spot, that in no way attempted to carry out the plan of Gattapone—namely, to form one magnificent edifice, of which the two palaces should form the wings.

The building of the Palazzo del Pretorio was begun in 1349, but was never finished; not only is the north-west arm wanting, in which the staircase should have been erected, but also the atrium, which would have been supported by the two great octagonal pillars, of which the bases are still to be seen. A simple roof was substituted for the battlements originally designed, and even in those parts where Gattapone's project has been carried out, irregular apertures have been introduced, which entirely spoil and transform it. It is evident that this second palace would never have attained the magnificent perfection of the Palazzo dei Consoli, but its character was intended to be of a simpler and severer order. It has been further injured by the sixteenth century addition that hides the north-west angle, which is probably destined to remain,

as it is utilised for the municipal offices. The windows of the southern front, on a level with the piazza, are of singularly graceful form. The large western door admits us to the Biblioteca Sperelliana, so named after its founder, Bishop Alessandro Sperelli, who, by a document dated June 10, 1666, gave his library to the Commune. It has since been enriched by the gift of Abbate Luigi Ranghiasi, amongst which is a collection of very precious documents, relating to the municipal history of almost all the Communes in the old Pontifical State. The library also contains many of the books belonging to the suppressed religious confraternities, such as choir books and missals, with illuminated capitals; some of them have, however, suffered severe mutilation. (These are kept in a small room on the floor above.) The Biblioteca Sperelliana also contains the precious Archivio Armanni, which comprises all the antique manuscripts, documents and chronicles, collected by Vincenzo Armanni during his long and industrious life, and, later, presented by him to the municipality. The complete catalogue was published by Armanni himself, but the library having been dispersed or moved, by some unfortunate chance, the catalogue no longer corresponds with the collection. It remains, however, very rich in precious MSS., the greater part of which, unfortunately, remain still unpublished.

Mounting the staircase in the angle, the custode admits the visitor at once to the Sala della Giunta, where the famous bronze "Tavole Eugubine" are kept jealously guarded in two large cabinets. They are so arranged, however, that students can observe

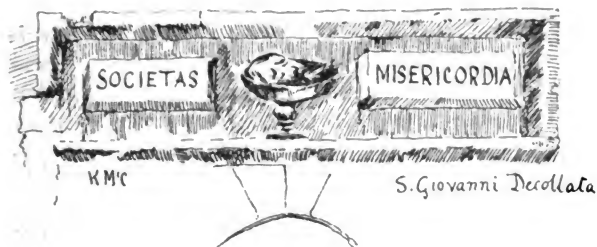
and study them without difficulty, as they are hung in reversible frames.

These Tables have excited the curiosity and interest of students ever since the second half of the fifteenth century, and it would be difficult, in a small work of these dimensions, to refer to all those writers who have endeavoured to decipher them. I will describe them more fully in a separate chapter. They were discovered in 1444, in a subterranean vault, not far from the ancient Umbro-Roman theatre. In 1456 they were sold by Paolo di Gregorio, their discoverer, to the municipality. In the original contract, which is preserved in the Libri delle Riforme, they are mentioned as seven in number, although another theory has been promulgated that there were originally nine; this, however, appears to be erroneous, as witness the letter which will be given later on.

To return to the Tables. They are seven sheets of purified metal of unequal size, which are rather larger than fifty centimetres in height, and thirty in width, incised by a stone instrument; five of them have inscriptions on both sides. For a considerable time the Tables were believed to be written in the Etruscan language, but, according to the latest suggestions of scientific students, the fact seems to be at last established that, although the *characters* of Tables I. to V. are Etruscan and the other two Latin, nevertheless the language is neither Etruscan nor Latin, but one of the ancient Italic dialects, half Roman, and closely related to Latin; in substance it is the ancient Umbrian language of Gubbio, as indeed was divined by Passeri; but it remained for the illustrious

the secret of whose beautiful lustre died, we might almost say, with him, for another plate, by his son, shows much inferior manufacture. In vain have the modern potters sought to rediscover his secret ; recent examples, hanging on the walls, demonstrate how it has hitherto baffled all attempts to penetrate its composition.

After leaving the Palazzo Pretorio a narrow upward road, the Via Ducale, leads to the Cathedral and to La Corte, formerly the magnificent palace of the Dukes of Urbino, begun by the great Federico of Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, and Lord of Gubbio, in 1470, but not finished by him, for, says the old chronicler, he was "surprised by death."



CHAPTER VIII

THE CATHEDRAL—THE DUCAL PALACE

No other part of Gubbio carries us back so completely into the Middle Ages as this narrow pass where the Via Ducale winds upwards, between the cathedral and the ancient palace of the Dukes of Urbino, called *La Corte*.

It is a quaint corner, dark and sombre even on a summer's day, and silent as the grave; for the cathedral stands so far removed above the hum of the city, that only those bound for the convent on the mountain-top are wont to pass this way. It is a place to make one dream of strange, fierce deeds wrought long ago. We almost expect to hear the clash of steel.

“ ——— peace! I hate the word
As I hate hell . . . and thee.”

We gather from a letter, still extant, addressed by Pope Innocent I. to Bishop Decenzio, that the See of Gubbio must have been established at least as early as the fifth century, probably even

earlier.¹ It is evident, therefore, that a church existed where the bishop would officiate. Local historians relate, that the first cathedral was founded some time before A.D. 1000, but this probably refers to a building in another part of the city. Tradition hints at a still earlier church, dedicated to S. Nicholas, but of this we find no trace. In default of documents we must be satisfied to accept S. John the Baptist as the first protector of the city.

On the site of the present Cathedral, however, stood an ancient church dedicated to S. Mariano, of which we find a record dated A.D. 1007. We have the authority of Canonico Gianpaoli for believing that the Church of S. Mariano became the Cathedral about 1037, or possibly a few years later, when in 1044 Bishop Teobaldo transferred his canonry to this spot. Not long after, the canons of S. Mariano founded a hospital adjacent to the Cathedral, on the site now occupied by the ruined palace of the Dukes of Urbino. The Archivio contains a number of documents referring to this institution, beginning A.D. 1076.

The Chapter was composed of twelve canons, who followed the rule of S. Augustine. In 1514 Pope Leo X. secularised the Canonica by a Bull which is preserved in the Archivio, but the Prior continued to preside under the title of *proposto*, or rector.

About the middle of the twelfth century this church was destroyed by fire and the present Cathedral was then erected on the same spot, possibly from the design of Giovanni da Gubbio, architect of the Cathedral at Assisi (1140);

¹ A somewhat apocryphal catalogue places the earliest episcopal name A.D. 292.



THE CATHEDRAL

(From the Palazzo dei Consoli)

To face p. 132.

there are, however, no documents to prove this fact, but Ranghiasi's¹ hypothesis is probably more correct than that of Guardabassi,² who attributes it to Gattapone, who lived about two centuries later.

The position of the Cathedral is peculiar and unique. Built against the mountain side, it presents, from above, the singular appearance of having been half engulfed by an earthquake, for the pathway leading up to Monte Ingino rises as high as that part of the walls that in most cathedrals would be the clerestory. There are no windows on this side, and those that formerly opened to the south have also been filled in, for some mysterious reason, rendering the interior of the church extremely dark. The refectory of the old Canonica attached to the Cathedral, however, still possesses its beautiful Gothic windows.

The façade is simple but striking; the dark, mellow, brown stone of the country has been used. In the centre appears the emblem of the Baptist, surrounded by those of the four Evangelists, with inscriptions beneath in Gothic lettering. Lower down, we see the arms of Francesco della Rovere and of Bishop Marcello Corvino, who assumed the Pontificate under the title of Marcellus II. The Cathedral was completed in 1241, but was much altered and restored in 1514, and again in 1550 by the above-named bishop.

A short flight of steps leads to the principal door, which is, however, but seldom open except during the early hours when Mass is being celebrated, or whilst the canons are reciting their office. At

¹ Abbate Luigi Ranghiasi.

² Prof. Guardabassi, *Guida di Umbria*.

other times ingress is obtained by a doorway lower down, at the top of the Via Ducale. A steep flight of steps leads first to a small chapel, used only in Passion week, for the Sepulchre of the Dead Christ. Mounting still higher, we pass a picturesque little courtyard, from which we can visit the ancient refectory of the Canonica.¹ It contains a fresco of the Crucifixion with the Virgin and S. John, and SS. Giacomo and Mariano habited as deacons, attributed to Palmerucci. This fresco is, unfortunately, much defaced by scratches, having suffered ill-usage at the hands of the contadini, who employ this building as a depository for grain. In a niche at either side are two curious statues of early and rudimentary workmanship. The reading pulpit still exists and the original beamed roof.

Returning to the staircase we pass into the Cathedral, either by a door to the left or through the sacristy, a few steps higher up.

The first impression on entering is very sombre, the light being quite insufficient, even on a brilliant summer's day, unless the great western door is open. The morning is, perhaps, the best time for a visit, when the sun shines directly through the window over the choir, or, towards sunset, before the Palazzo Ducale throws its shadow across the western end.

The interior is one vast nave, the roof being supported by ten wide arches of twelfth century architecture. During the alterations, initiated by Bishop Corvino in the sixteenth century, the height was considerably reduced by raising the floor, in order to remedy the dampness of the church. The

¹ The custode is to be found here.

general aspect of the building suffered in consequence, as the width now appears disproportioned to the height; a further most regrettable loss resulted in the disappearance of the frescoes of Nelli and his school, with which the entire walls were decorated. High up, between the first and second arches, near the western door, on the side flanked by the mountain, we can just discern the trace of a fresco peeping out from beneath the whitewash.

There are but three pictures worthy of special notice, and all are to be found on the left-hand side, as one faces the altar.

The first chapel on the left, near the principal door, contains a good example of Sinibaldo Ibi. It represents the Madonna and Child with S. Ubaldo and S. Sebastian. The Virgin is seated on a throne with her hands clasped, on her lap lies the infant Jesus looking up into her eyes, holding her mantle with his left hand. She returns his gaze with a very sweet and motherly expression. On the right stands S. Sebastian, in a curious mediæval dress of gold brocade edged with black. His body is encased in a tight, plain vest, but the skirt is short with very full plaits. His name is embroidered on a girdle that crosses the folds; red sleeves and stockings complete this strange costume, possibly the dress worn by gallants of Ibi's day, as Fiorenzo di Lorenzo has reflected the fashions of his period in his delightful pictures in the Pinacoteca at Perugia. The saint holds an arrow lightly poised between his fingers. His attitude is somewhat affected. S. Ubaldo, wearing his mitre, stands on the other side, habited in a rich cope, embroidered all down the

border with images of saints. In his right hand he holds a pastoral staff, and in his left a book.

An inscription, on the arms of the chair, records that it was painted for "Hieronimus Bentivoglio and his sister Magdalen." Lower down, on the front of the chair, we see the signature of the painter—"Sinibaldo of Perugia"—and the date of the month, but not the year in which the picture was finished—"Sexto. Kalends Octbi." It was probably painted about 1507, when Sinibaldo Ibi is known to have been in Gubbio, and to have been assisted in his work by another Perugian painter, Orlandi Merlini. Crowe and Cavalcaselle do not give Ibi a very high place amongst the followers of Perugino, and consider that his attempts to rival Pinturicchio only result in affectation, but, nevertheless, his Madonna has a charm and tenderness even in the placidity with which she contemplates the infant on her knee. This altar belongs to the Mosca family.

The third altar on the same side, belonging to the Andreoli, possesses a beautiful picture of Sta. Maria Maddalena, attributed to Timoteo Vite, which in its glowing colour recalls the Venetian school. The saint, in a red dress, stands looking upwards with a rapt expression, although we feel sure that she does not herself see the angels who hold the crown above her head. In her right hand she holds a chalice; in her left, a lily. At her feet a pretty little group of nude angioletti play on musical instruments, whilst others sing. In the background we see her kneeling at the feet of the risen Saviour, as she greets him with the cry, "Rabboni." Beyond is a landscape with the

empty tomb and the three Maries. Higher up, on Mount Calvary, stand the three Crosses. The whole subject is enclosed in a portico or loggia. This picture was executed by commission of the celebrated Maestro Giorgio, who was a member of the Andreoli family.

At the ninth altar we find a picture of S. Ubaldo, in imitation of the Byzantine art, by Benedetto Nucci, a native of Gubbio, and most prolific artist, who flourished about the middle of the sixteenth century. The saint is seated on an episcopal throne, wearing his mitre and a rich gold cope, holding in his left hand the crozier, whilst the right is raised in the act of benediction.

The tenth altar has a very lovely Presepio, attributed severally to Eusebio di Giorgio and to Pinturicchio. It very strongly recalls the work of Pinturicchio in the chapel of the Chiesa Collegiata at Spello. The Madonna with S. Joseph kneel to the right and left of the infant Jesus, who lies in the centre, on a white cloth spread on the ground, his head supported by a small bolster, made of a sheaf of straw, placed under the cloth. He holds out his arms towards his mother, who prays with folded hands. The Virgin wears a blue mantle bordered with gold and a red underdress. S. Joseph, in blue with a yellow mantle, kneels with hands devoutly crossed over his breast. Behind him, also, kneel the shepherds in adoration. This is the very ideal of the Presepio; in the centre, beside the Madonna, the ox and ass gaze at the infant Saviour with the direct simplicity of animals. Behind the hut, in the middle distance, to the right and left, horsemen are seen

approaching. Further away still, in a hilly landscape on the summit of a rise, the shepherds behold the vision of a winged messenger who proclaims the birth of the Redeemer. Still higher in the firmament, a group of small angels are standing on a cloud, singing from a scroll.

Above this altar are the arms of the Fabriani. On the other side of the nave, about the centre, opens the chapel of the Sacrament, dedicated to the Madonna of Loreto. To the left, on entering, is a picture attributed variously to Pomerancio, but, with more probability, to Gherardo da Rieti. It represents the birth of the Madonna, and is chiefly admired for its luminous flesh tints. The frescoes by Allegrini belong to the seventeenth century. They represent the funeral of S. Giovanni da Lodi. On the right, facing the altar, we see the cortège passing the Palazzo Galeotti, now Ranghiasi-Brancalone, formerly the mint, in the Piazza della Signoria.

The fresco to the left represents the arrival of the funeral before the high altar of the Cathedral. The body of this Bishop (1105) reposes under the second altar on this side of the Cathedral. Bishop Sperelli, who benefited the city by the presentation of his library, is buried here.

The organ was built in 1548 by Reginaldis Leuchas de Crandis, a Fleming, whose bust, with an inscription, stands beneath the organ on the right. The paintings on the panels of the organs are attributed to Timoteo Vite. They represent the following subjects. The organ, to the right of the high altar, has for its centre panel the Circumcision ; to the right, the Madonna and Child ; and

behind her, a figure symbolising Fortitude with the column ; lastly, S. Paul. To the left of the centre, the Redeemer ; next, a symbolical figure representing Prudence with the mirror ; and lastly, S. Peter with the keys. Above, under the column to the left, Hope, a graceful figure with floating drapery and hands clasped high in aspiration towards heaven. To the right, Faith or Temperance. It is a little difficult to decide which is intended, as, in the well-known picture of the Christian Virtues in the Uffizi gallery at Florence, both bear the chalice, but Faith has also the cross, whilst Temperance has only the chalice. Here the figure carries a book as well as the chalice. Round the side of the organ we have Charity and the children.

In the centre of the organ, to the left side of the church, we see the Presepio, to the right and left the Annunciation. To the right, behind the Virgin, S. Ubaldo ; and beyond, S. Mariano, hidden by the canopy of the episcopal throne. To the left, behind the angel of the Annunciation, we have S. John the Baptist ; and beyond, S. Giacomo in dalmatic, holding the martyr's palm. Thus all the protectors of the city are represented.

Above, under the column on the left-hand side, the panel contains the figure of S. Augustine, whose rule was professed by the canons who served the church at the date of its foundation. A female saint, with no distinctive traits to mark her identity, is depicted on the panel to the right.

Close beside the modern episcopal throne, beneath the left-hand organ, a small door admits us into a kind of outhouse, where lies concealed in darkness a fresco, by Timoteo Vite, representing

the Eternal Father surrounded by angels; it can be seen by the help of a taper. Here formerly existed a chapel, dedicated to Sta. Maria Maddalena, of which this formed a part; the picture by the same artist, which we have already noticed at the third altar, adorned this chapel. When the organ was built, a different construction became necessary to support the weight, these frescoes were consequently sacrificed. The head of the Padre Eterno is in good preservation, though difficult to see.

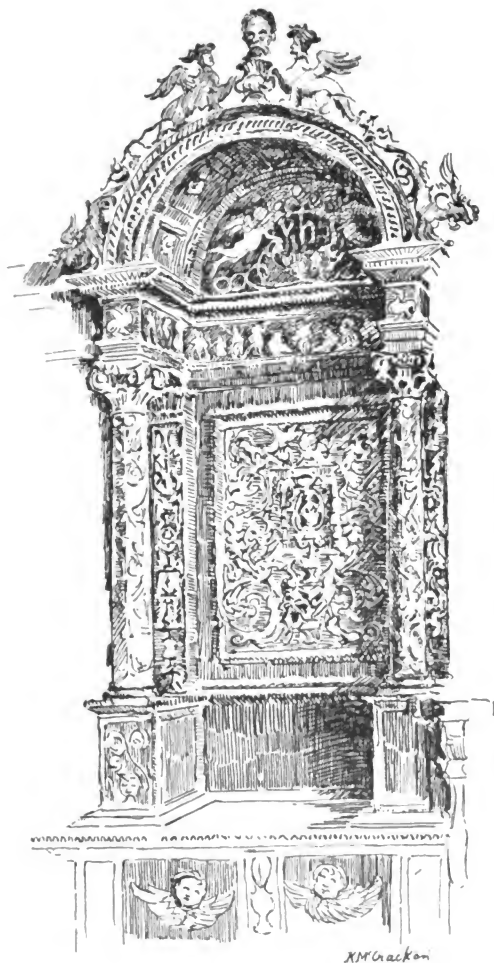
The Episcopal Chair, in the choir, recalls the beautiful sculptures in wood in the church of S. Pietro at Perugia. It was carved and inlaid by Girolamo Maffei in 1557, by commission of Cardinal Savelli, whose name and arms it bears. Two lions supporting a wreath, surmounted by the inscription—

IAS
SA
BELL'
CAR

The back and columns are richly adorned with carvings of beasts, birds, and foliage, in high relief. In the centre of the back there is a female figure symbolising Religion, with the words—

RELIGIO VENERANDA

in a lozenge. Still higher, there is a mask surrounded by snakes and birds, fruit, satyrs, and dogs. Round the cornice are charming intarsia groups of small angels at play, a design full of the quaint imaginative symbolism of the Renais-



EPISCOPAL CHAIR IN THE CATHEDRAL

To face p. 140.

sance, that delighted in embroidering with graceful fantasy a serious thought, and weaving round it garlands of delicate caprice. Two alluring, little, winged beings, whose frolicsome humour almost tempts one to call them Loves, dance gaily along, drawing after them a third small creature, who, wingless, with anxious face, is seated ruefully upon a book, which serves him for a sledge. A fourth figure, playing a drum, divides each group, which is several times repeated. Surely they suggest the idea of Pleasure and



Mirth enticing Science from his studies, urged on by the stimulating music of Joy !

Sphinxes decorate the canopy ; to crown all, a wreath of flowers, in intarsia, is supported by angels. Behind the columns that uphold the canopy are rich arabesques with flowers and heads. Above the canopy a head in a basket, supported by sphinxes, refers probably to the dedication of the Cathedral to S. John the Baptist.

The choir stalls are also inlaid with a simple border of intarsia, in four different patterns, divided by narrow fluted panels in imitation of columns.

On the cornice above, we read the following verse—

AD — ANUNCIANDUS — MANE — MISERECORDIAM
 — TUAM — ET — VERETATEM — TUAM —
 PER — NOCTEM — INDOMO — TUA — DÑE —
 IN — PSALMIS — ET — HYÑIS — CANENTES
 — CONFITEBIMVR — TIBI — NO — DÑI —
 CCCCCXXXII.

At the three altars on the right side are preserved the embalmed remains of three Bishops—S. Giovanni da Lodi; of the Blessed Villano, the friend of S. Francesco of Assisi; and of the Blessed Forte, a hermit.

Under the fifth altar, on the left, repose the bones of S. Virginia, an early Christian martyr, transported from Rome as a gift to the Cathedral. A touching inscription by her husband, above the altar, records not only her virtues, but also the fact of her having borne him ten children in eleven years.

DOMINA MEA VIRGINIA PER CVIVS BONOS
 LABORES FILI MEI NITENT EX QVA IN
 ANNIS XI FILIOS ABVI X VIXIT ANNIS N.
 XXX QVE.

MERVERAT VIBERE C MARCELLVS CONIVGI
 BENEMERENTI FECIT ET SIBI IN PACE
 DEPOSSIO III NONAS MAIAS

In the small choir, used during the winter months, stands a little sarcophagus containing the bones of a martyr, with the name ACATII sculptured on the front. Over the altar is a beautiful framed head of the Madonna, in tapestry.

In the sacristy are two small pictures attributed to Giotto. They represent Christ on the Cross, and the Martyrdom of SS. Giacomo and Mariano.

A handsome, fifteenth-century cope is preserved here, which belonged to Cardinal Ulderico Carpegna.

In the Chapter Room, enclosed in a glass case, is preserved a magnificent cope of exquisite Flemish



ARMS OF BISHOP MARCELLO CORVINO

(Afterwards Pope Marcellus II.)

needlework. It represents the principal scenes of the Passion. On the hood is worked the Last Supper, and down the sides are portrayed the Agony in the Garden; the Crowning with Thorns; the Flagellation and the carrying of the Cross. It

bears the word VESTREM. A. in embroidery. It is supposed that this splendid example of Renaissance handiwork was presented to the Cathedral of Gubbio by Bishop Marcello Corvino, when he was raised to the Pontificate.

In another apartment, the precious archives of the Canonica are jealously kept. Amongst them are priceless documents, that go back as far as the eleventh century. In the passage leading to the Chapter Room the following Latin inscriptions, found elsewhere, have been inserted.

1.

I. CVTI BASSI
IN FRONT P XII
IN ACR PED XX

2.

M. C. I. RVTVNDI
INFR LOC P XII
IN ACR PED XXII

3.

CORNELIAI
P L ARBVSCI
IN FRONT
LOC P XIII
IN ACRVM
PED XVILI S

4.

AELIANVS AEDIACO
NVS AD FABRICA . . . BASI
LICAE SANCTO . . .
LORV.



COURTYARD OF THE DUCAL PALACE

To face p. 145.

PALAZZO DUCALE

(called LA CORTE)

On the opposite side of the narrow Via Ducale stands the palace of the Dukes of Urbino, commonly called La Corte, beautiful even in decay. A fine archway, opening on to the steep ascent from the town, leads into the covered atrium, but we must enter by the courtyard facing the great door of the Cathedral.¹

In the eleventh century this site was occupied by a hospital belonging to the Canons of S. Mariano, part of which was incorporated into the new building. The palace was begun in 1470, by the great Federico of Montefeltro, from designs of the celebrated Sienese architect, Francesco di Giorgio, who also planned the Ducal Palace at Urbino; but was not completed until the time of Guidubaldo I., his son, in the finest period, however, of the Renaissance architecture.

A shabby door admits us into the courtyard, grass-grown and neglected, and strangely still. It is almost enough to make one weep to witness the ravages wrought, not alone by time and want of care, but rather by wilful destruction. This superb monument, record alike of a glorious period and of an illustrious personality, merited better treatment at the hands of Federico's fellow-citizens. Once renowned for the perfection of its adornments and mouldings, for its beautiful inlaid doors and shutters, the production of Pier Angelo da Gubbio, and,

¹ The custode of the Cathedral has the keys.

especially, for its jewel of rare intarsia work, the apartment known as the Gabinetto del Duca, sold a few years since to Prince Lancelotti of Rome ; it is now nothing but an absolute ruin, the merest empty shell.

Happily its founder carved for himself a memorial other than bricks or stone, or we might shrink at the significant comment offered by these crumbling walls. But, when we consider the great Federico of Montefeltro, of whom it was written, that not only was his fame recognised throughout Christendom, but that it reached as far as Persia and Constantinople ; who was so loyal and upright in all his dealings and engagements that he provoked from the Turkish Sultan the admiring epithet of "The Great Christian," it seems positively barbarous that the people of his own city of Gubbio should have willingly lent themselves to the work of spoliation.

In the middle of the last century the palace was sold by public auction for a few hundred crowns, and converted into a silk-spinning establishment. Its purchasers initiated the demolition by denuding it of everything that was possible to detach, and dispersing its treasures, who knows whither ! As I have said, the beautiful intarsias of Pier Angelo da Gubbio went to Rome ; the carved doors of Terzuolo were sold elsewhere, two only were secured for the Municipal Museum ; the sculptured chimney-pieces and mouldings of pietra serena shared the same fate ; and now, like some hapless Griselda shorn of her courtly attire, she faces wind and weather in her grievous nudity, and we can only guess at her former stateliness



LA CORTE

(Door leading to the Grand Staircase)

To face p. 147.

and grandeur by the few remains that have been spared to us. In a few years it will drop into a heap of ruins, unless the government carry into effect their project of restoration ; to restore would, however, be impossible ; all that can be hoped is that complete decay may be arrested.

The courtyard is surrounded by graceful but weather-worn columns of *pietra serena*, a stone that lends itself to facile sculpture, but it is too soft for endurance, and not adapted to a building exposed to all the wintry storms of a bleak mountain side. The upper storey is of red brick, which affords a pleasant contrast to the grey stone of the cornices. The entablatures and architraves are sculptured in graceful festoons and arabesques, but the medallions, over the upper portion of the colonnade, have been removed or destroyed. Over the doors are carved the arms and initials of the founder, a bird between the letters F E and DUX.

Amongst the decorations English visitors may note with interest the insignia of the Order of the Garter, conferred on Federico of Montefeltro by Henry VII.

The principal staircase leads from a door on the side nearest the mountain, but it is usually closed and barred ; ingress must be obtained by one of several doors under the portico.

On the side facing the city the old hospital buildings of stone were utilised, and form what is known as the ballroom. High up, near the roof, we can discover a few traces of frescoes, belonging to the period of its use as a hospital, when it was probably divided by another floor ; they have so completely perished, however, that it is impossible

to attribute them to any special artist. The roof would assuredly fall but for the huge beams of timber that support it ; the floors, too, of some of the rooms are unsafe.

The upper corridor has been still further desecrated by the unsightly stoves and coppers, used in the preparation of the cocoons during its occupation as a silk factory. It is a strange freak of destiny that has reduced this magnificent palace to such a sorry plight. One tries in vain to picture the brilliant pageants, the gorgeous celebrations and fêtes, that are described as having taken place in these apartments during the time of Federico's descendants, especially during the rule of Guidubaldo I., who sought to comfort and divert his much loved consort, Elizabetta of Gonsaga, with jousts and pageants, with musical fêtes and hunting parties, of which she was passionately fond, and with every kind of pleasant pastime, in order to distract her from the grief and disappointment consequent upon the failure of their line. Elizabetta on her side, so it is related, seconded her husband's endeavours, meeting him with cheerful countenance and feigning the joy she could not feel, because of the strange whispers of sorcery by which Guidubaldo was accounted spell-bound and impotent, so rendered by the occult intervention of one who desired the succession for his own son, who, however, died in the flower of his age before Guidubaldo, leaving alike no heir.

The birth of Guidubaldo himself to Federico and his second wife Battista are chronicled in quaint and picturesque terms in a manuscript by a Canon of the Cathedral in 1472 :—

"On the 24th day of the month of January, it was Saturday, at night, between the hours of seven and eight was born the 'Mammolo del Signore,' and it was the day of the Conversion of S. Paul, and great were the rejoicings."

This "little infant" cost Battista her life, for she never rallied from the birth of this much desired son, though she had borne Federico eight daughters without mishap, one of whom, Giovanna, was the mother of Francesco della Rovere, who succeeded to the Duchy of Urbino and Countship of Gubbio on the death of his uncle Guidubaldo.

From the outside, numbers of heavily-barred windows suggest mysterious underground chambers, and the counsel of the custodian, that it is as well to avoid certain corners of the staircase, or unadvisable to step across a portion of the floor, hints disagreeably at depths below, whither it was the playful custom of the middle ages to transport undesirable guests without ceremony and in a manner quite informal, that to modern notions seems more facile than humane.

In the courtyard, and again in the atrium, the constant drip-drip of water gives evidence to the fortunate position of the palace in regard to this very necessary supply, provision having been made against the horrors of a siege, by causing the celebrated aqueduct to empty itself into a reservoir, just above this spot, before conducting its precious waters on into the fountains of the city.

Abandoning this silent palace of departed glories to its death-like slumber we take our leave, still meditating on its illustrious founder, and marvelling

that his name was not more potent to preserve for it a worthier fate.

“Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils
Shrunk to this little measure? Fare thee well.”¹

To reach the Convent of S. Ubaldo we must follow the roadway up the mountain side; passing through the Porta S. Ubaldo—once the Porta S. Angelo—an easy walk of three-quarters of an hour will bring us to the cloister. From every turn in the zigzag path we gain a fresh and ever more extensive view, till at length the whole breadth of the city lies compactly at our feet, from S. Agostino beyond the Porta Romana on the left, to S. Secondo on the right. The watch-towers of the quarter of S. Martino attract our notice, reminding us of S. Gimignano; they were formerly more numerous,

¹ The two following descriptions were written in 1843, and are here inserted to give an idea of the treasures that are lost to us:—

“THE DUCAL PALACE AT GUBBIO.

“Differing much from the architecture at Urbino, its courtyard is very fine, of the mixed or composite style usual in that age. The windows, doors, and chimneys have stone lintels exquisitely chiselled in low relief with masterly arabesque designs, those in the interior being touched with gold. The ceilings, now partially decayed, are all of wood, in half-relief compartments, with heavy cornices and roses coloured and gilded. The place was completed by Duke Guidubaldo, who commissioned the cabinet or closet of superb intarsia, thirteen by six and a half feet. This tiny room is nineteen feet high, but the inlaid work goes only half-way up. It is of the finest patterns and workmanship, including several emblematic representations of music, literature, physical science, geography and war. On the cornice is an inscription now in part illegible. . . . It was, in my opinion, the work of Antonio Maffei of Gubbio, a famous artist in wood, who executed the beautiful



KM'Cracken.

PORTA S. UBALDO

To face p. 150.

now only three remain in this the oldest quarter of the city. To the right, as we look down upon the walls immediately behind the line of the Palazzo dei Consoli, but on a level with the Ducal Palace, a mass of stonework indicates where the mediæval fortress was begun but never completed.

As far back as the eleventh century an oratory had existed on the summit of Monte Ingino, dedicated to the Saints Gervasio and Protasio. Some writers assert that the body of S. Ubaldo was removed to this sanctuary on the 11th September 1191, others, again, put the date at 1194. Reposati, basing his supposition on a decree of Pope Gregory IX., inclines to believe that the chapel had been destroyed previously, and that the Translation of the Sacred Remains did not occur till 1230, when they were deposited in a church that

choir of S. Fortunato at Todi, and who is known to have been much in favour with Duke Guidubaldo and Francesco Maria I., the latter of whom gave him exemption from imposts."—Signor LUIGI BONFATTI (JAMES DENNISTOUN).

"The small cabinet has shared a better fate than that of the remainder of the apartments, and requires little less than cleaning up to restore it to its original state. The ceiling is divided into several scanty compartments of octangular form and relieved with gold, while the wainscoted walls are inlaid with tarsia representing book-cases, or rather cupboards, with their contents, amongst which are a ship, a tambourine, military weapons, a cage with a parrot in it; and, as if for the sake of variety only, a few volumes of books, over one of which, containing music, with the word *Rosabella* inscribed on its pages, is suspended a crucifix. On the central case, opposite the window and occupying as it were the post of honour, is the Garter, with its motto *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, a device which has been sculptured on the exterior of the stone architecture of the door of this apartment. It appears again in tarsia in the recess of the window, where also may be seen within circles, G. Ubaldo. DX. and FE. DUX.—"From MS. of F. C. BROOK, 1843 (JAMES DENNISTOUN).

stood on the site of the present convent. This latter date is, however, too late.¹

At length the convent is reached ; a majestic flight of steps leads into the cloister. The church is usually open ; should it be closed it is easy to gain admittance by ringing the bell of an inner door, in the right-hand corner, beside the church.

The present building was erected in the year 1512, in fulfilment of a vow by the wife and mother of Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, on occasion of the serious illness of their relative, Pope Julius II. (della Rovere).

The custody of the body of S. Ubaldo was first confided to the care of the Canons Regular Lateranese, who remained here till 1787, by which time they were reduced to such a small number, that Pope Pius VI., with a Brief, dated 12th December 1788, removed them in favour of the Seminary of Gubbio ; they again were substituted by the Passionists, who were, in their turn, dislodged by Napoleon I. when he suppressed all the religious orders. After the defeat and capture of Napoleon the Passionists did not care to return, and the Eugubini, not liking the convent containing the remains of their patron Saint to remain empty, invited the Francescani Riformati ² of S. Girolamo to take up their residence there. They accordingly took possession of the convent 10th June 1816. Subsequently, Pope Pius IX. by a papal decree divided the Convent of S. Ubaldo from the Provincia Serafica (Porziuncula), placing it under the

¹ See Chapter on S. Ubaldo.

² Franciscans of the brown habit, of the same branch as those at Sta. Maria degli Angeli and S. Damiano, Assisi.

immediate jurisdiction of a general of their own, that is, the "Procuratore Generale dei Riformati."

The community is now represented by one solitary monk, the amiable and hospitable guardian, who resides here through the heats of summer and the bitter cold of winter, alone in this great desolate building, his only companion the contadino who serves him, except for a few weeks during the summer, when the clergy come up for retreat.

The winters are said to be excessively rigorous at this great height, and to last long after the spring has put forth its "leafy banners" in the valley below; snow and rain, storm and tempest sweeping over the mountain, driven in, across the Apennines, from the Adriatic beyond. As one gazes on the stern, scored peaks of Monte Catria¹ and Monte Aguto, seen from the Rocca above the convent, one can well imagine what the cold must be when the mountain tops are covered deep with snow. From the windows, at the back of the building, the Frate will point out the celebrated monastery of Fonte Avellana, on the slopes of Monte Catria, that sheltered Dante in his exile.² Standing beside the cross on the terrace overlooking the town, the castle of Assisi can be discerned, just below the

¹ On the 22nd August 1901 a cross was erected, with solemn religious ceremony, on the summit of Monte Catria, to commemorate the dawn of the new century; if the atmosphere be clear, it is just visible. Small though it appears, it measures in reality seventeen metres.

² "Tra duo liti d' Italia surgon sassi,
E non molto distante alla tua patria,
Tanto, che i tuoni assai suonan piu bassi,
E fanno un gibbo, che si chiama Catria
Disotto al quale e consacrato un ermo,
Che suol esser disposto a sola latrìa."

slopes of Monte Subasio, to the extreme left of the horizon ; both these objects are far better seen, however, by clambering up to the ruined tower, sole remains of the ancient fortress, on the summit of the mountain. From this point a magnificent panorama unfolds itself. The whole chain of the Apennines, range behind range, rises in picturesque confusion.

Turn where one will a vision of loveliness is spread before our eyes. Eastwards, in the valley to the left, far below us lies the Bottaccione ; we can follow for a long distance the road to Scheggia as it winds in the direction of the ancient Flaminian Way. To the right wooded hills and grassy slopes present a charming vista of sylvan delights. We see the cattle at pasture, and note the sound of the

" Quivi
Al servizio di Dio m'ei si fermo,
Che pur con cibi di liquor d'ulivi,
Lievemente passava e calda e gieli,
Contento ne pensier contemplativi."

—DANTE, *Paradiso*, Canto xxiv.
106-111 and 113-117.

" 'Twixt either shore
Of Italy, nor distant from thy land,
A stony ridge ariseth ; in such sort
The thunder doth not lift his voice so high.
'They call it Catria : at whose foot, a cell
Is sacred to the lonely Eremite ;
For worship set apart and holy rites."

—*Paradiso*, Canto xxi. 106.

" There
So firmly to God's service I adhered,
That with no costlier viands than the juice
Of olives, easily I passed the heats
Of summer and the winter frosts ; content
In heaven-ward musings."

—*Paradiso*, Canto xxiv. 113.

cow-bells and the voices of the shepherds, as they tend their flocks, crying to each other across the hills. Let us turn once more, and look down the valley towards Fossato, where the pale tints of the mountains contrast tenderly with the rosy slopes of Subasio. Mark where Perugia lies over against the sun; although you cannot discern the city, hidden from view by the intervening hills, you can guess at her direction by the great rounded mountain yonder to the south. Lastly, let us drop our eyes down to the vine-clad plain at our feet, and open our hearts in joyous response to the call of mother earth, assuredly the song that will rise spontaneously to our lips will be none other than the hymn that burst from the glad heart of S. Francis, as he, too, felt the influence of nature and blessed the hand of Him who had created all things.

“ *Laudate si mi signore per sora nostra matre terra
La quale me sustenta et governa
et produce diversi fructi con coloriti fiori et herba.*”

Having descended the mountain, let us pause for a moment on our return to the Piazza della Signoria, to notice the modern Palazzo Ranghiasi-Brancaleone, between the two monumental palaces. It occupies the site of the ancient Palazzo Galeotti and the mint, which gives its name to the Via della Zecca, close by. Passing behind the Palazzo dei Consoli into the street so called, we descend to the little church of S. Giuliano and near it the fountain of the same name. ¹ It was here that the fray occurred in which S. Ubaldo was struck down, feigning death

¹ See chapter on S. Ubaldo.

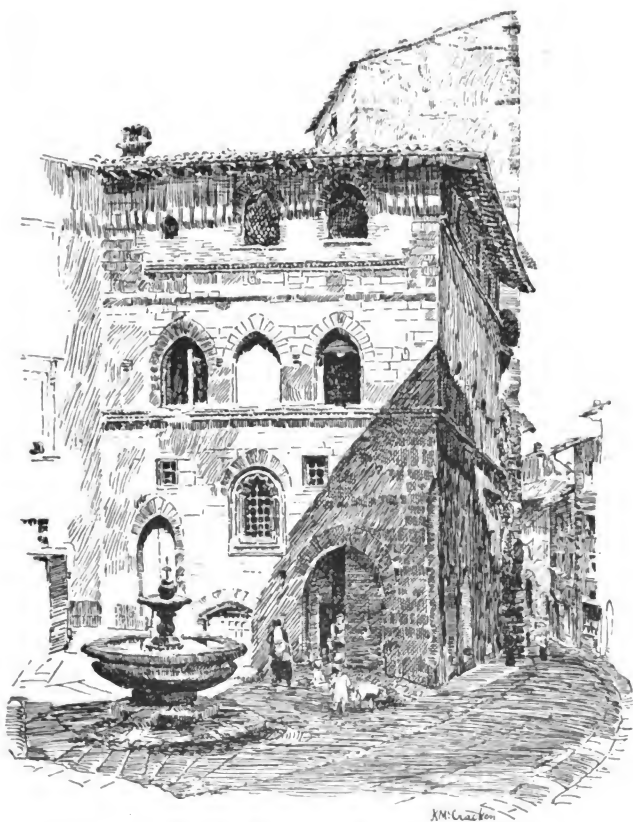
in order to bring the turbulent populace to their senses, and to show them the folly and wickedness of slaying one another. Piccotti thus refers to the cause. On the election of Pope Celestine II. (1143) disturbances occurred at Rome, "which example moved the Eugubini to reform their government, and with ease began all kinds of riots and tumults in the Piazza S. Giuliano before the Palazzo Pubblico."

The following description of the city, by Piccotti, also refers to the position of the first municipal palace.

"In the time of the Emperor Conrad, or Berengarius, the Eugubini began to rebuild their city after its destruction by the Hungarians, but at a lower level, so that the houses above remained desolate, and now only one gate remains to recall that part, the Porta Gioconda,¹ and then the city did not descend below the street in which is built the Palazzo dei Consoli, the Via Baldassini, where were the walls of the city, and outside, the fosso, afterwards the contrada was called Contrada del Fosso. From that line one went direct to the Porta di Levante near S. Marziale, where now is the Palazzo Falcucci, as, also, still remains the portone (great gate); and the Palazzo Pubblico in that time was near S. Giuliano, and in front of that palace was built the fountain which is now called the Fonte S. Giuliano."

The piazza, near it, is now called the Largo del Bargello, from the beautiful Palazzo del Bargello which forms one side of the piazza. The architect Laspeyres calls it "an idyl of fourteenth

¹ The writer can find no record of the position of this gate.



THE BARGELLO

To face p. 156.

century architecture ;”¹ the tower behind belongs to a much earlier date, and is probably of the period when the office of Captain of the People was instituted (1261), as Reposati writes that the affairs of the government were conducted “in the palace close beside the church and fountain of S. Giuliano, before the Palazzo dei Consoli was built.”² It once had an open loggia under the roof, which has since been filled in with brick. It has fallen into great disrepair; through the cobwebbed windows we can see walls and partitions, put up to suit the requirements of its present poor tenants, which had nothing to do with its happier days. An earlier building in the S. Martino quarter, not far from the Porta Sta. Croce, called also the palace of the Captain of the People, was probably the private residence of that officer. A street newly named the Via del Capitano del Popolo, starting from the Via Gabrielli at this point, confirms this theory. Like the Bargello, it had a fine arched loggia; the whole house has been altered and divided, and put to baser uses, and is now inhabited by the poorest of the population.

Turning down the Via S. Giuliano we come into the Via Baldassini, so named from the family of S. Ubaldo, whose birthplace is pointed out at No. 22A. Laspeyres mentions this house as a fine example of fourteenth century domestic architecture, but Eugubine tradition is very tenacious in maintaining that here, and nowhere else, their patron saint first saw the light.

If this be true, it is most probable that the

¹ Paul Laspeyres, *Die Bauwerke der Renaissance in Umbrien*.

² See Chapter IV., page 61.

house was embellished in the fourteenth century ; the interior bears out this idea, as some of the rooms—now a mass of ruins—show traces of frescoed walls, amongst them the figure of S. Ubaldo in a room that possibly owed its decoration to the fact that it was the birthplace of the saint ; it is not likely, otherwise, that a private house would have been so adorned. The upper storey has fallen in and the floor is unsafe, so that it is impossible to examine the frescoes. The only other room is inhabited by people of the extremest poverty. By their courtesy the present writer was allowed to penetrate into the interior, and was shown, by candle-light, a small niche containing a fresco of the Madonna and child with two saints, said to be S. Ubaldo and S. Ambrogio, but the painting was so grimed with dirt and the rubbish that was piled against it that very little could be made out. The staircase is of stone in a very ruinous condition. The exterior of the house is one of the handsomest in Gubbio, six graceful arched windows run across the front ; another house, very similar in style, exists in a small street at the back of this building, in the Vicolo del Moro.

This must have been one of the earliest portions of the city, constructed after it descended towards the plain. In the eleventh century the Via Baldassini would appear to have been the lowest limit, for here was the fosso or moat. The passage previously quoted from Piccotti is rather interesting, in that it shows the influence the political state of the city had on its situation and growth, according to the needs of different periods.

Many beautiful old palaces are to be found in

this quarter and in the quarter of S. Martino ; the finest are the stately Palazzo Beni, in the Via Gabrielli, and the Palazzo Ondedei that still boasts its mediæval watch-tower. Many others, like them, still bear the names of their original owners, but have passed from their possession ; they are sadly time-worn and battered, and their beauty impaired by unsightly blemishes.

Gubbio spent her youth in fighting ; her old age still bears the scars, time and neglect have done the rest. It seems to have been a universal practice to fill in the graceful, pointed windows ; the blocked doors too point to the sinister visit of the Angel of Death. One is familiar throughout Italy with the little narrow arches filled in, in the vain hope of keeping out the dreaded visitor ; in all ages Love has fought with Death, but Death, relentless, patient, always comes. He can afford to wait sometimes, for he knows that in the end all will be his. One would have thought that in these stormy centuries the shrouded figure was too familiar to be feared, yet the doors were always closed, built up, as strong as stone and mortar could make them, so that Death, when he came again, must choose some other way.

CHAPTER IX

ART AND CHURCHES OF GUBBIO

"O," dissi lui, "non se' tu Oderisi,¹
L' onor d' Agobbio, e l' onor di quell' arte
Che alluminare è chiamata in Parisi?"
"Frate," diss' egli, "più ridon le carte
Che pennelleggia Franco Bolognese:
L' onore è tutto or suo, e mio in parte.
Ben non sare' io stato sì cortese
Mentre ch'io vissi, per lo gran disio
Dell' eccellenza, ove mio core intese.
Di tal superbia qui si paga il fio;"
—DANTE, *Purgatorio*, Canto xiv. 79.

"O," I exclaimed,
"Art thou not Oderigi? art not thou
Agobbio's glory, glory of that art
Which they of Paris call the limner's skill?"
"Brother!" said he, "with tints, that gayer smile,
Bolognian Franco's pencil lines the leaves.
His all the honour now; my light obscured.
In truth I had not been thus courteous to him
The whilst I lived, through eagerness of zeal
For that pre-eminence my heart was bent on.
Here, of such pride the forfeiture is paid."

THUS Dante writes of Oderisio, who was the father of Eugubine art, and the earliest painter of whom anything is known in Gubbio, the contemporary of Giotto and possibly the pupil of Cimabue.¹

¹ Baldinucci.

Very little information is to be found regarding the life of Oderisio, the date of his birth even remains undiscovered ; but it would appear from Dante's mention of him, and also from certain historical memoirs, that he was born at Gubbio, but that he passed the greater part of his life at Bologna, and possibly died at Rome.

On the strength of a document existing in the Archivio Notarile at Bologna, Lucarelli affirms that Oderisio was the son of Guido of Gubbio, and not of Bonajunta, as has been erroneously supposed. The entry, dated 1271, runs thus : "Magister Odericus q m Guidonis de eugubio. . ." Crowe and Cavalcaselle are also of opinion that the "M. Oderigus Bonajunctae," mentioned in the Archivio Armanni under the dates 1264 and 1265, was an entirely different person, and must not be confused with the painter mentioned by Dante.

Oderisio undoubtedly flourished during the latter half of the thirteenth century. It is certain that he was at Bologna in the year 1268, when he had Franco and perhaps Vitale for his pupils. There are also authentic records of him during the years 1262, 1264, 1271 and 1295. That his work as a miniaturist or illuminator was admired and was famous in his own time, we gather from the following mention of him by Benvenuto da Imola, a contemporary of Petrarch, in his commentary of Dante.

"Iste Oderisus fuit magnus miniator in civitate Bononiae, qui erat valde vanus jactator artis suae."

It may be that Dante met Oderisio first at Bologna, though there is some diversity of opinion

also as to the year in which the poet was there. Ugo Foscolo affirms that Dante studied there in 1261 and the succeeding years, but Balbo declares that he did not visit that city before 1285, and supposes, therefore, that the acquaintance between Dante and Oderisio began between 1285 and 1287.

According to Vassari, Oderisio probably went to Rome in the train of either Pope Benedict XI. or, more probably, of Pope Boniface VIII. about 1295, where, during the Jubilee, he encountered both Giotto and Dante, who are known to have been at Rome on that occasion. There he worked, and possibly died towards the end of the thirteenth century.

No examples of Oderisio's art are to be found in Gubbio and very little elsewhere. Crowe and Cavalcaselle mention that a few miniatures and illuminated letters exist amongst the manuscripts of the Vatican, notably an "Annunciation" and "St. George," in two masses in the Archives of the Canons of S. Peter's at Rome. These authorities also relate that in 1271 Oderisio was commissioned by the Canonico Azzo dei Lambertuzzi of Bologna to illuminate an antiphone.¹ Every other trace of his work has disappeared.

Of Guido Palmerucci, who follows next after Oderisio, we glean certain facts which render his personality more distinct than that of his predecessor, although but little detail has descended to our times. We learn that he was born in the quarter of S. Pietro in 1280, and that he died in the city of Gubbio either in 1345 or 1349.

¹ Probably the document referred to by Lucarelli was the contract for this commission,

Crowe and Cavalcaselle call him the best pupil of the great illuminator, though it appears a little difficult to understand how he can have studied under Oderisio, since that artist is known to have had his atelier at Bologna in 1268 and migrated to Rome in 1295, when Palmerucci was but fifteen years of age.

It is possible, and indeed probable, that a school of miniaturists existed at Gubbio even previous to the time of Oderisio, and that Palmerucci there learnt his art in company with other painters whose names have been lost to us.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider that his technique is the result of the study of the methods of workers on parchment or ivory; but Palmerucci undoubtedly possessed intense individuality, of which the broader treatment of his subjects is the vigorous outcome. Doubtless, he was influenced by the Sienese school, which already possessed such representatives as Duccio, Simone di Martino, and the Lorenzetti. Indeed, it is mainly through the medium of Palmerucci that the characteristics of the Sienese masters have been so evidently impressed on the art of Gubbio, who transmitted it further, through his greater successor Ottaviano Nelli, to the whole of the Umbrian school.

The name of Palmerucci appears in the elenco, or list, of proscribed Ghibellines of his native city in 1315; obviously, therefore, his work in the crypt of Sta. Maria dei Laici (which, it will be noticed, is very elementary) must have been executed before this date.

It is impossible to say whether Palmerucci was obliged to absent himself from Gubbio continuously

during the ensuing years ; but it appears certain that after the disaster to Florence in 1341, when Siena and Pisa were also involved, Giacomo Gabrielli of Gubbio, who had conducted a detachment to the aid of the Florentines, was taken prisoner, and many Eugubines were also sentenced to banishment, amongst the number Palmerucci, who was condemned to pay a fine of three hundred pounds.

His sentence was commuted, however, in February 1342, on the agreement that he should decorate the Communal Palace with the insignia of the Podestà, of the Captain of the People, and the other public officials "with suitable adornments from the door to the staircase," all the frescoes being included in the contract ; and, moreover, he was to paint, "or cause to be painted," a fresco of the "Annunciation," all to be finished by the following month of May, whilst the acts of the said agreement were to be retained at the pleasure of the Camerlengo of the Commune.

The name of the Podestà who commuted this sentence appears to have been Ser Pannocchia di Volterra, who had twice previously held office for the six months from May to November 1326, and for the same period in 1337. It is probable that he was of the Guelf faction. If, therefore, Palmerucci suffered a long banishment for his political principles, it is difficult to assign an exact date for the execution of the beautiful fresco in the Cappella of the Palazzo dei Consoli, the finest example of his method existent in his native city. It is clearly the work of his ripest period, and although it may exhibit the faults of drawing peculiar to his school and age, yet it has a certain masterliness and

vigour, which are the natural precursors of the more refined charm which, in a later development, found expression in the "Madonna del Belvedere" of Nelli.

A fair-haired Madonna, with the infant Jesus on her knee, is seated on a white throne raised from the ground by two steps, on the side of which is painted a coat of arms, which may be that of the Gonfaloniere who kneels at her feet. The Holy Child, who wears a little short-sleeved, green tunic, embroidered all over with a design, is wrapped besides in his mother's mantle, and rests his right hand on a book which lies open on her lap. Behind her stand the four saints: S. John the Baptist, S. Andrew, S. Francis, and S. Ubaldo. (Crowe and Cavalcaselle throw out a suggestion that they may be intended to represent symbolically the four quarters of the city: S. Pietro, S. Giuliano, S. Andrea, and S. Martino; and that the Gonfaloniere, who kneels at the feet of the Madonna, may possibly have been Francesco Maffei, who held that office at one period during the lifetime of Palmerucci.)

This personage is a man still young, with regular features, clean shaven, but with long hair; he wears a red under-dress and green robe lined with ermine. Of the four saints he who presents the Gonfaloniere is younger than the others, and wears a long, black, pointed beard; he is dressed in green with a white cloak and black pallium. Near him stands a white-bearded saint, clothed in a yellow mantle lined with green. Behind him again, an aged Bishop in cope and mitre. Of the fourth saint only the head is visible. The whole stands

out from a green background enclosed in a painted frame.

In artistic interest the Nelli family comes next after Palmerucci, although, according to the records contained in the books of the Camerlengato, Gubbio can boast of other painters who worked during the fourteenth century, not only in their native city, but also at Orvieto, Cagli, and elsewhere. Of these the best known are Giovanni Agnolo Danti, Bartolo di Cristoforo, and Cecco Masuzzi, who all executed frescoes for the Confraternità dei Bianchi about 1338. Crowe and Cavalcaselle also mention the following: "Agnolo di Massolo, who laboured in 1370 and died in 1399; Donato, a painter who lived in 1374; Gallo di Maestro Andrea, in 1389; Pietruccio di Lucca, in 1380; and Nicciolo di Maestro Angelo, in 1399;" all of whom contributed towards the adornment of the crypt of Sta. Maria dei Laici.

More famous than these, however, were the three generations of the Nelli. Mattiolo, the grandfather of the celebrated Ottaviano, a sculptor as well as painter, who was working apparently about 1338; Martino, the father, mentioned in records of 1385; and lastly, Ottaviano, whose *chef-d'œuvre* in Sta. Maria Nuova was executed about 1403. In his studio Martino appears to have educated, not only his own sons Ottaviano and Tommaso, but to have had besides as his pupil Gentile da Fabriano.

Ottaviano Nelli flourished in the early part of the fifteenth century, and executed frescoes which have rendered him famous both at Gubbio and Foligno. Before undertaking the "Madonna del Belvedere"

Ottaviano had been employed at Perugia to paint the armorial bearings of no less distinguished a personage than Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan. He was recalled to Gubbio by the Piroli family to paint the fresco in Santa Maria Nuova in fulfilment of a vow.

No work of Nelli's any longer exists in the church of S. Pietro, although receipts for payments, made to him for the adornment of the private chapel of Agnolo de Carnevale, in 1439, are extant.

Amongst the few other incidents preserved concerning the life of Ottaviano Nelli is the fact of his election to the office of Consul in 1410, and again in 1433. His name occurs besides in a public record of 1444, referring to the transfer of a tenement. Nothing is known of his work after that date.

At his death he bequeathed all his property to Marto di Pompeo, a son whom he had adopted in 1442, when he had abandoned all hope of having children by his wife Baldina di Bartolello.

Giacomo, or Jacopo, da Bedi, who painted the frescoes in the cemetery of S. Secondo, was a pupil and close imitator of Ottaviano Nelli, but was far inferior to him both in execution and talent.

Giovanni Pintali, Domenico di Cecco, and Ubaldo di Matteo were all pupils of Ottaviano Nelli. After them succeeded Bernardino di Nanni dell' Eugenia, who painted the fresco above the entrance to the Palazzo dei Consoli, and contributed towards the decoration of Sta. Croce della Foce; he may be said to have been the last follower of the school of Nelli.

The sixteenth century was rich in painters of a

certain calibre ; but, as elsewhere, so in Gubbio, these later artists were more prolific than gifted, and their productions do not tempt us to linger in contemplation as those of the earlier masters. Of these, however, Benedetto Nucci, Felice Damiani, and Allegrini (who, however, belongs rather to the seventeenth century) were the most talented.

A school of Mosaics existed at Gubbio from very early times. The arts appear to have been interchangeable, and the school of Oderisio gave birth to many forms. Amongst his pupils Angioletto is remembered, not as a painter of fresco, but as a mosaicist and worker on glass. P. della Valle mentions his mosaics at Orvieto, executed in 1321 and 1329 ; he afterwards appears at Assisi in company with Pietro da Gubbio and Bonino da Assisi as furnishers of the windows for the chapel of S. Martino, in the lower church of S. Francesco.

In 1498 Pietro Andreoli, a potter, came from Pavia to take up his residence in Gubbio, bringing with him, all unwittingly, a precious seed which was to develop later to the honour of his adopted city. From this stem blossomed the famous Maestro Giorgio, whose exquisite porcelain, celebrated for its inimitable lustre, has carried the name of Gubbio into almost every museum of Europe. Examples exist, in fact, almost everywhere save at Gubbio, which can now only boast the possession of one small plate.¹

Sculptors in wood and workers in intarsia

¹ See chapter on Palazzo dei Consoli. See page 129.

Some splendid specimens of Gubbio ware are to be found in the Wallace Collection in London, at the Museo Civico, Venice, and at the Museum at Frankfort-on-the-Main.

abounded during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Amongst the former, Niccolò da Gubbio is remembered as the carver of the great doors of S. Francesco at Assisi, into the panels of which, it is interesting to note, that he did not fail to introduce the legend of the taming of the wolf by S. Francesco from his own native city.

Mariotto di Paolo Sensi (called Terzuolo) comes later, and the Maffei contribute a long list of names from 1472 to 1601. Amongst the ancestors of these last is included also the great architect Gattapone, to whose ideal conception belongs the splendid achievement of the two municipal palaces and the intervening piazza. In a staircase leading from the inner courtyard of the Palazzo Beni, in the quarter of S. Martino, are the remains of a few frescoes of the school of Nelli, notably a S. Christopher carrying on his shoulder the infant Saviour, and the coat of arms of Pope Martin V., who was entertained here in 1420.

On the wall of a passage in a private house No. 7-D Via Umberto I, in the same quarter, there is a fresco of the Madonna and Child with S. Ubaldo and two angels. The Madonna, with raised hands, kneels in adoration of the Holy Babe, who lies on the ground. The "Monti" representing the arms of the city are also depicted.

STA. MARIA NUOVA

At the end of the Via Savelli della Porta, where it is intersected by the Via Nelli, stands the church of Sta. Maria Nuova, which contains the cele-

brated fresco of Ottaviano Nelli, known as the *Madonna del Belvedere*, a work so exquisite that it may be fitly called the *chef-d'œuvre* of Umbrian art.

The most ancient record of this church is to be found in a Bull of Pope Nicholas IV., dated 1292, still existing in the archives of the Augustinians at Gubbio, relating to indulgences accorded to those who should visit this church. Nicholas appears to have entertained a special benevolence towards Gubbio, as he exerted himself also to promote the building of S. Francesco.

It has been said, on doubtful authority however, that this church occupies the site of a temple of Janus in remoter ages, but no evidence exists to prove this theory, beyond a dim tradition.

The architecture of the present edifice dates from the thirteenth century. The Gothic windows were either filled in or reconstructed at the same time that the fine vaulted roof disappeared, during the unfortunate seventeenth century changes and restorations that we have, as usual, to deplore. This observation is the almost invariable complement to the description of any of the churches of Italy, where sufficient money was obtainable for restoration. At the same period the walls were whitewashed, and the early frescoes of Palmerucci and the later ones of the school of Nelli vanished, with the sole fortunate exception of the beautiful work alluded to above, under the title of the "*Madonna del Belvedere*," so called from the portico, or *loggia*, under which the Madonna is seated.

This picture was introduced to English connois-

seurs in 1857 by a reproduction of the Arundel Society, and has been universally recognised as the masterpiece of Nelli, if not of the entire Umbrian school. The colour is delicate and exquisitely tender in tone, and the ornamentation rich in the extreme. The Virgin is seated on a cushion, turning towards the left (of spectator). Her blue mantle and red robe are profusely embroidered with gold, representing constellations, birds and foliage, as if all creation lent their homage towards her adornment and recognised her supreme Motherhood ; if Mother of the Son of God, then, through Him, Mother of all creation.

On her head she wears a diaphanous drapery of a pale rosy hue, suggesting clouds at sunrise, bordered with gold, like some delicate Eastern fabric, recalling in texture the actual "Veil of the Madonna" which Nelli may have seen at Assisi—who knows? Her long oriental eyes give a mild and dreamy expression to her face, and her small mouth a look of extreme youth. She does not look sad, but thoughtful, as if still pondering over the mystery of the Incarnation.

The infant Jesus, astride across her knee baby fashion, is clothed in a transparent, muslin garment which reveals his chubby limbs. Round his neck he wears a row of coral beads with a pendant, such as children still wear against the evil eye. The Madonna is completely surrounded by angels, some of whom divert her by playing on various musical instruments, whilst others hold up her mantle behind her, like a screen. The variety and richness of colour in their robes might seem to represent, according to the painter's vivid imagination,

the four elements, thus carrying out the idea of all creation uniting in worship of the Mother of her divine Son. This conception would be completed by the deep blue of the background, possibly denoting the firmament, covered with a lattice-like tracery in gold, with designs of birds and beasts, enclosed within the squares. The angels, standing to the right and left of the Madonna, play severally a mandoline and a violin. Over their foreheads they bear curious symbolical ornaments—one, in form, like a double cross; the other, something like a pyx. In the expanse of heaven above hovers the Eternal Father, surrounded by angels and seraphs, who hold a crown above the Madonna's head. To the right, an angel plays the harp; to the left, an organ. Beside the Virgin, to the right of the fresco, stands the bearded figure of S. Anthony (Abbot), clothed in a dark cloak embroidered with a pilgrim's badge, the cowl covering his head. He wears besides a dark inner vest. In his hand he carries a crutched stick. To the left stands S. Ermiliano, also a bearded figure, bare-headed. In his hand he holds a book and the Martyrs' palm. His under-garment is blue, his cloak red, lined with green. To the right and left kneel the donors, members of the Piroli family, who are known to have commissioned Ottaviano Nelli, in 1403, to paint a fresco in the church of Sta. Maria Nuova, as a votive offering after the illness of a son. S. Antony, as protector, presents Venturuccio dei Piroli to the Madonna, whilst his wife, who wears a curiously striped mantle, is presented to the infant Jesus by her guardian angel. Some critics have erroneously concluded that the second figure

represents the young man recovered from illness, but the long hair, fastened by a clasp, clearly indicates that it is a woman. These two figures, doubtless, are portraits of the parents. The angel custode wears a thin, greenish dress with the curious tight sleeves of the period. The tunic and sleeves of the angel playing the violin end in a pattern cut like oak leaves. The whole group is enclosed by a canopy or Belvedere, the twisted columns of which are sculptured with small figures. The lower part of the fresco has suffered from having had an altar at one time built against it. On the edge of a striped carpet, on which the groups rest, we read the legend, "Ottavianus Martis. Eugubinus pinxit año D M MC . . . III (1403)."

It is curious that Vasari has not noticed the fresco of the Madonna del Belvedere. Lanzi and Rosini also make but scanty mention of it; but Crowe and Cavalcaselle thus describe it, not very sympathetically:—

"A gay, variegated miniature in which bright mixtures of secondary and tertiary colours form a chequered but unshaded pattern; airy unsubstantial figures in dresses of cobweb texture, thrown with flowers fringed out into leafy borders, a simple combination of saints and angels of different sizes cast symmetrically on a blue diaper ground—such is the masterpiece of Nelli, a masterpiece in which some heads, as those of Anthony the Abbot and his attendant companion, are not without calm repose; in which the Virgin and Child gaze primly and prettily enough; and the whole is finished with an industry recoiling from no detail."

In a further note they add the following criticism :—

“The fusion of tones shows that this was not a fresco but a tempera on the wall. The outlines are excessively fine, the hands defective, the limbs puny. The lower part of the Virgin’s dress is injured and retouched, and the gilding of the hem is gone. The head of the patron to the right is damaged, and the brown mantle of S. Anthony is over-painted.”

The whole church was once richly frescoed by Nelli and his pupils, and some may be attributed even to an earlier period and the hand of Palmerucci. But little remains of their work, as, until quite recently, the walls were covered with a thick coating of whitewash. The few extremely damaged groups that have been recovered are, however, good examples of the school of Nelli, and exhibit the smiling gaiety, lightness, and charm that were the leading characteristics of the Umbrian painters of this period, and which gave rise, according to the opinion of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, to the later development of Perugia and Urbino and to the genius of Raphael. These critics consider that the Eugubine painters followed the “Mercurial Sieneſe school rather than the graver Florentine, but showed a vague ſtamp of originality.”

They intensified the affectation, grace, and tenderness of the Sieneſe maſters. “Their work bears the impreſs of careful ſtudy and has the finiſh and flat brilliancy of miniatures.”

On the ſame wall as the Madonna del Belvedere is another Virgin, with a mild, ſweet, ſomewhat vacant expreſſion. The infant Jeſus, ſeated on her

knee, raises two fingers of the right hand in benediction ; in the left, he holds a pomegranate. The Madonna wears a reddish dress laced in front, and tied up short at the waist by an oriental scarf. Very long hands emerge from tight sleeves. On her head she wears a light folded veil. The outlines of the drapery are very hard. The feet and hands of other figures are to be seen at the side, but the remainder of the fresco is so ruined that it is impossible to judge completely of it as a whole. It can in no way compare with Nelli's masterpiece, but was no doubt inspired by him, as were, probably, most of the other decorations of the church ; although Crowe and Cavalcaselle attribute some of them to Palmerucci, notably the figure of S. Anthony on the left wall, which is certainly far inferior, in conception and execution, to the S. Anthony in the Madonna del Belvedere.

At the entrance of the church, beside the holy water-stoup, is a fresco of the Virgin seated on a throne, bearing on her face an extremely tragic expression. She is clothed in a red dress and white cloak. (It will be remembered that the Madonna in the large hall of the Palazzo dei Consoli also wears a white cloak.) She clasps the infant Jesus to her breast. To the right stands a saint with a book in her hand ; to the left, a young head only is to be seen. In a separate compartment, to the left, stands S. Catherine of Alexandria in a reddish dress, holding her wheel and martyr's palm.

Above this fresco is a Crucifixion, not entirely liberated from the whitewash ; the Christ is only visible from the forehead to the knees. The Virgin stands below, in a dark dress, with arms

extended towards the Cross. At the foot of the Cross, doubtless, knelt the Magdalen; only the aureole remains. On the right we see the head of S. John. Above, angels in red and green robes are flying round the crucified Saviour, holding chalices to catch the sacred blood—a design familiar to us in the celebrated frescoes of the Crucifixion in the Lower Church at Assisi, and probably inspired by them. In a divided compartment, to the right, we see the shaven head of a monk.

On the right wall beyond the Madonna del Belvedere is another fresco of a Madonna and Child, almost entirely ruined. She wears a bluish-grey mantle and red dress. The face has suffered so terribly, in the attempt to remove the whitewash, that it is beyond criticism.

A very painful and somewhat rough Crucifixion is preserved under glass beside the altar of the Madonna del Belvedere, manifestly belonging to an earlier school than that of Nelli.

Near the high altar are three shields bearing the arms of the Brancalone family—a lion's paw with claws extended.

S. AGOSTINO

Leaving the Church of Sta. Maria Nuova and continuing along the Via Savelli della Porta, we pass through the Porta Romana to the Church of S. Agostino, which lies immediately outside the gate.

The foundation of the convent of S. Agostino, in Gubbio, reaches back as far as the second half of

the thirteenth century, as we gather from a deed of Ser Mercato di Rinaldo, dated 12th February 1253,



PORTA ROMANA

that the Commune of Gubbio gave the said friars a vineyard so that they might erect themselves a convent, which was finished in 1294. "The

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Hermits of S. Augustine," as they were called, founded also a hospital for poor sick persons, which was confided to the care of the "Disciplinati" of the same order.

The convent was many times restored, but the ancient hospital suffered specially from the undermining of its walls by the torrent, called the Cavarello, and was at last, in part, demolished, the remainder being converted into a mill for the preparation of olive oil. No part of this building exists any longer, except a stone bearing the emblem of the Disciplinati, in the style of the thirteenth century, over the door of a stable near the torrent.

Traces of the thirteenth century windows are still visible in the convent—filled in as usual ; and the church is absolutely transformed, with the exception of the choir ; the exterior having quite recently received a fresh coating of coloured wash when it was re-roofed (1901). It has been declared a "National Monument." The interest of the church centres in the apse, whither we will proceed at once. The frescoes here, until a few years ago, hidden beneath a liberal covering of whitewash, have suffered considerably in the removal of it ; they have also sustained damage at the hands of the restorer, and some have vanished entirely from damp, neglect, and ill usage. Those that remain are, however, of very great interest, as they owe their existence to the brush of Ottaviano Nelli and his disciples, and some of the figures are also attributed to Gentile da Fabriano. Those that may be assigned entirely to the hand of Ottaviano Nelli are the "Ordination and Con-

secration of S. Augustine by S. Ambrose," and "The Death of Sta. Monica."

To follow the sequence of the story of S. Augustine as depicted in these frescoes, they must be taken in four separate zones, beginning at the top of the left wall, as the spectator faces the window. The frescoes in the vault should be taken first and begin with the compartment over the left wall where, according to the inscription, Sta. Monica sends her son Augustine to school.

In No. 2 (over the window) Augustine studies the liberal arts. The two figures to the right and left of the central group, the one carrying a satchel and the other throwing a stone at a dog, represent incidents of his boyhood; they are recognisable as referring to Augustine by being bareheaded like the central figure on the left seat of the school. At No. 3 in the vault to the right, Augustine himself opens a school of rhetoric at Carthage and teaches.

No. 4 is the "Dream of Sta. Monica," in which an angel appears to her in sleep and promises that her tears and prayers shall obtain the conversion of her son.

Returning to the top of the left wall, we see Augustine setting sail from Carthage on his journey towards Rome, accompanied by his two companions Alippo and Ebridio. A concourse of friends speed him on his way from the city gates.

No. 2 (over the window), very much injured, represents his arrival at Rome, where, says the inscription, he was received with honour. We see the ship to the left, and a man dragging a small boat to shore. In the foreground there is a land-

scape with trees, and beyond, the city crowded with domes and spires.

In No. 3, at the top of the right wall, Augustine, recognisable in his usual costume of red, with fur-lined hood, teaches philosophy at Milan; we see him within the city with a book. Outside the gate we have the arrival of a group of horsemen, ambassadors from Rome, who have come to invite him thither once more; amongst them is a cardinal. Two men, in curious attitudes and strangely dressed, precede them on foot; the foremost, in white, bears a lance in his hand. The second, in a red tunic, pulls up over his bare leg a green stocking. A deputation of citizens receives the ambassadors at the gate.

Return to the left wall and take the second zone. In No. 1 Augustine leaves Carthage for the second time and arrives at Milan.

Continue to the left of the window, and at No. 2 we have S. Ambrose, the great doctor, preaching to a rapt audience. Augustine, still unconverted, and his two friends listen in the background, apparently but just arrived. In No. 3 (to the right of the window) S. Ambrose anoints Augustine catechumen with the holy oil. This fresco is sadly ruined, but Augustine is still to be identified by his red dress. S. Ambrose we know by his beard.

No. 4, on the right wall, is a composite picture. The three figures in red all represent Augustine in different incidents of his career. In the figure to the left he is portrayed conversing with Politian, an old man at a window. In the centre we see him reading the epistles of S. Paul, by which his

conversion was effected ; the angel above denotes the sudden illumination of his mind. In the third figure we see him announcing his conviction to his mother and to his two friends, Alippo and Ebridio, who stand beside her. Sta. Monica receives the good news with joyfully extended hands.

No. 5 is a double composition. We see Augustine in the act of being baptized by S. Ambrose and in the same picture he kneels before the Bishop (Ambrose) and receives from his hands the white robe symbolical of innocence, whilst from the mouth of S. Ambrose issue the words "*Te Deum Laudamus*," which was composed by him on the occasion of the conversion of Augustine, to which Augustine replies "*Te dominem confitemur*." Sta. Monica stands beside them in ecstasy. This fresco is much inferior to the others in execution ; there is hardly any character or moulding in the faces of the monks, though the group including Sta. Monica is better.

Turn again to the left wall and third row. In No. 1 we see the "Death of Sta. Monica at Ostia." S. Augustine bends over his mother holding the crucifix before her dying eyes. This fresco is believed to be exclusively the work of Ottaviano Nelli.

In No. 2 S. Augustine in a religious habit, accompanied by two other monks, his faithful friends Alippo and Ebridio, arrives at Carthage on his return from Rome.

No. 3, to the left of the window, represents S. Augustine receiving ordination as priest from S. Valerius, Bishop of Hippo.

No. 4 is entirely ruined.



In .No. 5 S. Valerius places his own mitre on the head of Augustine, his pastoral staff in his hand, thus appointing him to be his coadjutor and successor.

Next comes a niche, in which occurs an incident apart from the regular sequence of events in the life of S. Augustine. At the left of the niche S. Augustine is seen writing one of his celebrated letters to S. Jerome, who stands at the opposite side of the niche, holding in his hand the pen of a Doctor of Theology, and a book. He wears his cardinal's hat and robes over a dark monkish habit; a bearded venerable figure. Beside him stands S. John the Baptist in his garment of camel's hair, but wearing the triple papal tiara as an indication of his position in the hierarchy as highest on earth after Christ, the invisible Head of the Church. He encourages and supports S. Jerome for his conclusive reply to S. Augustine. Beyond the niche S. Augustine, habited as a monk, beholds a vision of the Trinity, and receives its impression on his heart through a wound in his side, as S. Francis received the stigmata. In the Trinity, God the Father is represented as a beardless figure, holding up the image of Christ crucified; over the Cross hovers the Holy Spirit in form of a dove.

To continue the series, let us return once more to the fourth row on the left wall, and we have at No. 1 "The Dispute of the Manichæans." S. Augustine is seated at a desk or pulpit; a lay brother occupies a post at the preacher's feet, according to a custom which still prevails in the Church, his expression evincing great enjoyment at the crushing arguments of Augustine. A group

of the Manichæans listen eagerly, and one of them, an old man, probably intended for Felix, or Fermo, a prominent member of that body who was converted by S. Augustine, tears a leaf out of his book to show that he is convinced by the Christian doctrine and no longer esteems the tenets of his own school of philosophy. No. 2 gives the "Death of S. Augustine." The saint is lying on a bed supported by his friend Alippo, his faithful and constant companion, and other members of his order, one of whom holds up a book before his failing eyes. The monk nearest to him holds the yellow mortuary candle. A number of citizens crowd in at the report that their beloved Bishop lies in peril of death (so it is related in the *Life of S. Augustine*), and amongst the group it is interesting to note that he who stands behind the last monk on the farther side of the couch, with a red cap and small pointed beard, is a portrait of the artist, Ottaviano Nelli.

Above, Christ in glory, surrounded by angels, communicates directly with S. Augustine, a ray of light proceeding from the Saviour to the lips of the dying man. A young monk turns as if he, too, saw the vision and were dazzled by it.

No. 3, under the window, represents the procession bearing the dead body of the saint from Sardinia. It is much damaged, and we can only dimly trace the forms of the bearers.

No. 4, on the right wall, is the removal of the body of S. Augustine to Pavia, by Luitbrand, King of the Lombards. The saint, clad in red, episcopal vestments and mitre, lies on a bier covered with green drapery, carried by ten monks, and preceded

by a cross bearer. King Luitbrand, richly dressed in red with a light blue mantle, stands bareheaded, holding his crown in his hands, followed by a number of citizens. The various expressions on the faces of the monks are very realistic ; one seems to have known them all. This fresco is much retouched and much of the gold ornamentation is new. One of the monks in the second row, in profile, is repainted.

The 5th and last fresco represents a miracle of S. Augustine after death. He is depicted flying downwards to rescue some prisoners from gaol, some of whom are seen climbing out of the windows, whilst the janitors are fast asleep at the door.

Round the arch over the high altar are eleven heads of the Apostles. On the adjacent side walls, and just beyond the last fresco of the series of the Life of S. Augustine, are S. Nicholas of Tolentino and three other saints of the order. They have suffered seriously during alterations and restorations.

On the left wall an ugly window has been introduced, to the great detriment of the fresco, probably whilst it was still hidden by the whitewash.

On the walls of the nave where the whitewash has broken away, there are indications of other frescoes ; those near the high altar are attributed to the school of Nelli, and represent a Madonna and saints helping small souls in purgatory. Those near the organ are of a much later date and hardly merit rediscovery.

In the autumn of 1901, during the restoration of the roof, portions of a fresco were brought to light

above the arch of the apse, but the present writer had not the opportunity of seeing it.¹

A large painted crucifix of the thirteenth century, somewhat in the style of Margaritone, hangs in the coro at the back of the high altar. Low down the nave of the church, on the right wall (the spectator facing the altar) is a fresco attributed to Martino Nelli, father of the more celebrated Ottaviano; it represents the infant Jesus with saints and angels. It has been detached and badly restored. Crowe and Cavalcaselle believe this to have been painted at the same period as the choir, but by a more careful hand; they do not, however, attribute it to Martino. It is too much damaged to warrant an expression of opinion.

On the left wall at the last altar but one, near the choir, is a curious picture by Ottaviano Nelli, with sixteenth century additions by Basili. It is called "The Madonna del Soccorso," and represents the Virgin rescuing a child from a horrible demon, whom she beats off with a thick stick, which she holds high above her head ready to bring down on his back with lusty blows. She has a sweet face, very fair, surrounded by a thin gauzy veil, two corners of which are knotted fichu-wise, the others floating loose. Her dress is pale red, covered with gold, her mantle a greenish-blue. The child, whom she protects, is quaintly dressed in green, with a sort of white pinafore. Another child in red, with long floating hair, is imploring the Madonna's help on her knees. The demon has peacock's wings, but his legs are partly

¹ The fresco uncovered in 1901 proved to be a "Last Judgment" of the school of Nelli.

like a tail, ending from the knee, however, like a bird's with claws. The background is a starred atlas with garlands of flowers. In the distance there is a rocky landscape, with a city, seen against a pale sky. It recalls a similar picture in the Church of S. Francesco at Montefalco.

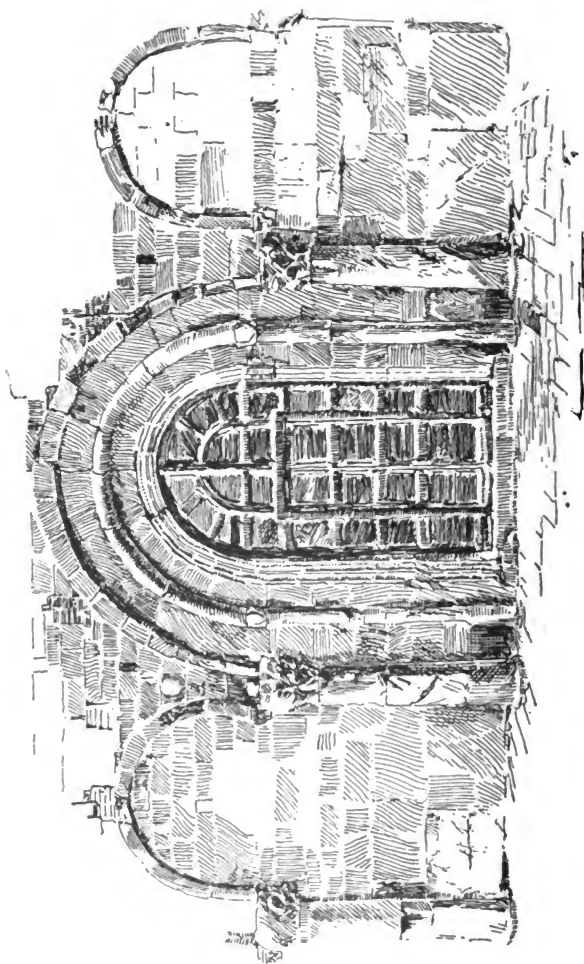
Crowe and Cavalcaselle find it difficult to determine whether Ottaviano Nelli completed this work himself, or its restoration by Pier Angelo Basili in 1700, the whole picture was deprived of its original character, and eight members of the Basciachione family were introduced, in the ruffed costume of the period. These circles can fix no decisive date for the series, or the chair of the Life of S. Augustine, but are of opinion that it belongs to a later date than the fresco in Sta. Maria Nuova. They consider, however, that it may be the work of his pupils, possibly executed under his direction. In manner they think a less practised hand than his work in Fano, which belongs without doubt to him.

Gentile in Florence is reported to have assisted Ottaviano Nelli in the decoration of the chair, but there is no absolute proof of the fact.

S. PIERO

On entering the Porta Romana the visitor should turn to the left, he reaches the Corso, and taking another turn to the left, the Via Aquilone, he will soon come to the Church of S. Pietro.

The construction of the Abbey S. Pietro is so interesting, and the history so establish-



DOOR OF S. PIETRO

K.M. Guckin.

ment is lost in obscurity. We should not, perhaps, err far from the truth in affirming that the Benedictines established themselves here soon after their foundation as an order, even as early as the seventh century. A Latin inscription in the possession of the Canons of the Cathedral, dating from the earliest introduction of Christianity, refers to an archdeacon specially attached to the Basilica of S. Pietro.

Documents also exist which prove conclusively that the abbey was in a most flourishing condition in the eleventh century, and had an extended and powerful jurisdiction over a wide territory. That its abbots had also great influence in the city is proved by the privilege of Frederick Barbarossa to the inhabitants of Gubbio in 1163, in which the name of "Offredo, Abbot of the Monastery of S. Pietro," appears next after that of Bishop Bonatto and before those of the consuls. Offredo was the personal friend of Frederick Barbarossa and an ardent Ghibelline, in consequence of which he was able to obtain from the Emperor many and special benefits in favour of his order.

The Benedictines of Monte Cassino continued in possession of the monastery until they were deprived by Pope Leo X. in 1521, when he replaced them by the Olivetani, another branch of the same order. These were in their turn displaced by a third branch, the Camaldolese from Fonte Avellana, in the last century by Pope Gregory XVI. The church is still served by them, although the splendid monastery has passed from their hands and has been turned to secular uses.

The façade of the church shows some traces of

late Roman architecture—del Moro calls it Byzantine—but it was much restored in the thirteenth century. Of the earlier period four columns, much injured, with capitals of acanthus leaves, remain half hidden in a wall of more recent construction. The side walls, especially in the strong buttresses along the northern side, and in the apse behind the choir, retain intact the features of the thirteenth century. Vestiges of mediæval architecture may be discerned in the external restorations, but the periods most disastrous to the interior were the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the detestable barocco style was substituted for all that remained of the beautiful early Gothic and of the later Renaissance.

The interior of the church is a vast nave in the form of a Latin cross, of very fine dimensions. The frescoes, painted by Ottaviano Nelli in 1439, for the private chapel of Agnolo Carnevale, have disappeared. The sole remaining works of any value are to be found in two chapels to the right, numbers four and five. Over the fourth altar is a "Visitation" by Giannicola di Paolo, a pupil of Perugino. The figure of the Madonna is very young and simple, as she clasps affectionately the hand of S. Elizabeth. She wears a red dress covered by a green mantle, and has neatly braided hair. S. Elizabeth is also clothed in red, with a blue cloak lined with green. S. Joseph is a somewhat feeble figure in the background, clothed in the traditional blue and yellow habit. Behind S. Elizabeth a young woman, in a rose-coloured dress with blue sleeves, carries on her head a basket of doves. In the distance to the right rises a temple; to the

left extends a rocky landscape crowned by small towers ; beyond, in still farther distance, is a blue horizon, reminiscent of Perugino.

The fifth chapel is entirely decorated by Raffaele del Colle, who painted in Gubbio about 1564. It contains an oil painting of the "Presepio" in the centre, flanked by frescoes describing scenes in the lives of S. Placido and S. Mauro. In the "Presepio" the Madonna kneels and covers the infant Jesus with a veil, as he lies on a little bed with his arms outstretched towards her. Beside him, on the ground, the swathing-band, still used for Italian babies, lies half unwound, and near it a rose. S. Joseph slumbers in the background ; behind him, we see the animals in the manger. Three shepherds kneel in adoration on the other side. Farther back, some women are seen coming down the steps of a house, and beyond is a rocky landscape with horsemen ; angels hover in the sky above. In the fresco to the left, S. Benedict—with forked beard—accompanied by five other monks, receives a kneeling youth, dressed in red, who wears a curiously fashioned tunic with long sleeves tucked into his belt behind. The father of the boy, a youngish man, clothed in a yellow garment with large open sleeves, bends forward with hands outstretched towards S. Benedict. Two servants attend to the horses ; the one who stands at the horse's head has a shock of rough hair ; the other, who leans against the pommel with his legs crossed, wears the slashed shoes of the period. An old man in a brown robe, wearing a dark cap and riding a black horse, would probably be a member of the retinue ; beyond stands a third horse. In the middle

distance is a landscape, in which stands a church with a circular façade and campanile, with convent and garden attached. Beyond spreads a landscape with sea and rocks. In front of the church stand two monks and a countryman, and some horsemen ride along.

In the fresco to the right S. Benedict embraces a youth, gladly welcoming him into the Order. He raises him, at the same time, from a kneeling position by placing his hand beneath the arm of the boy. The youthful saint is dressed in a green tunic with a red mantle over his right shoulder, his legs are clothed in red stockings. Near by stand four monks. An old man with grey beard, in purple with yellow mantle, presses forward as if to commend his son to the special care of S. Benedict. A young man with a red cap stands beside the saints; behind the father of the boy is seen a man in armour with a helmet; beyond, stands another, similarly armed, and still farther off two servants. All the details of costume are interesting as belonging to the period at which they were painted.

In this landscape, as in the companion fresco, a church is depicted with terraced steps and campanile. Beyond lies a rocky landscape on the sea-shore with boats. In the middle distance rides a band of horsemen.

In the upper part of the fresco S. Benedict is seated in glory, holding an open book, surrounded by other saints of the Order. Above his head an angel holds a mitre, signifying no doubt that his sanctity merited the highest earthly honour, although he never attained to the Papacy. At the extremities

are two symbolical female figures. In the frieze above we see a small representation of the "Annunciation." The Virgin is kneeling at a *prie-dieu* and turns round, rather ungracefully, to receive the message of the angel, whose attitude also is not happy. Beyond, along the frieze, small angels are frolicking amongst arabesques and decorative figures, very pretty and graceful.

On the left side of the church, low down near the doorway, a curious sixteenth century picture is to be found, by Brozzi, which represents S. Ubaldo supported by three deacons, two of whom wear the pointed beard and moustaches of their time. An angel presents the city of Gubbio and Monte Ingino to S. Ubaldo as an offering, thus illustrating the divine institution of his office as protector of the city.

Just within the entrance are two handsome vessels for holy water of the classical form of the Renaissance; a fluted tazza on a stem fashioned out of long graceful leaves bound together by a band.

The magnificent, and once important, monastery is now used, in part, for the technical schools, and, in part, for an orphanage; but many of the cells are closed, and the long corridors are silent and empty. There are two beautiful cloisters, to one it is easy to obtain access by the door near the church. A better idea can be formed of the architectural beauties of this fine building, from the avenue outside the Porta S. Pietro. From the windows and balconies of the south-eastern wing a glorious view stretches itself down the valley towards Fossato. There is a project on

foot for removing the Biblioteca Sperelliana to this building.

STA. MARIA DELLA PIAGGIOLA

Leaving the Church of S. Pietro and issuing forth from the Porta S. Pietro, a few paces beyond the walls, down a road leading directly from the gateway, we find the Church of Sta. Maria della Piaggiola. It contains a fresco over the high altar that has been attributed variously to Martino, the father of Ottaviano Nelli, to Ottaviano himself, and to Gentile da Fabriano. It undoubtedly belongs to their school, although neither Bonfatti, nor Crowe and Cavalcaselle are able to decide precisely as to its authorship. It is, however, a very beautiful work, and although sadly retouched in parts, is in some respects not unworthy of the graceful brush of Ottaviano.

The Virgin is seated, wearing a red robe with a blue mantle, profusely embroidered with gold in a design of foliage, heraldic animals and stars; lined with green. On her head she wears a folded white veil, the end of which is wound across her chest, showing, however, her graceful neck. In her left hand she holds a lily, whilst with her right she encircles the infant Jesus, who stands on her knee clothed in a little blue robe, with a cord round his waist, and a small red and gold mantle. Two fingers of the right hand are held up in the act of benediction, in the left he holds a flower. His baby foot peeps out from beneath his frock.

The face of the Madonna is rather long, as are

also the eyes, but the chin is prettily rounded, and the expression very beautiful and tender. Metal crowns have been added, over the heads of the mother and child, which have injured the fresco, the hands have also suffered from retouching. Round the back of the fresco runs a cloister in which are two kneeling figures of angels in red and blue robes, with wings like the feathers of doves.

A chapel to the right of the same church, on entering, contains a "Pietà" by Domenico di Cecco di Baldi, a pupil of Ottaviano Nelli.¹ Christ is rising from the tomb, looking very dead, however; the hands are crossed in front of the body. His loins are encircled by a cloth with a stripe of embroidery. Behind him, under a canopy partly hidden by a red curtain, we see the cross with two big nails. At either side stands a man: he to the left holds a staff; the one to the right, a lantern. On a dark, starred background are seen, all round, the signs of the Passion; the hand that buffeted him and that pointed at him the finger of scorn; the ear of the High Priest's servant cut off by S. Peter, also a hand holding a staff with a scroll wrapped round it; the ladder, pincers, and hammer.

Beside the tomb sits the Virgin, habited like a nun, resting her face on her left hand; her right reposes on a scroll on which occur these lines:—

"Io sono quella gloriosa effige
Di Cristo glorioso, il qual vedete
Che l'aspre pene per voi ha portato."

¹ The articles of his apprenticeship to Ottaviano Nelli are preserved.

S. Joseph stands behind with another scroll, of which one word "luce" is decipherable. The tomb is of a reddish colour covered by a white canopy, the whole enclosed in a portico.

The church that next claims our attention is Sta. Maria dei Laici. The shortest way to reach it would be to turn in again at the Porta S. Pietro, following the Via Reposati as far as the Mercato; but, on a warm spring day, the shady walk under the chestnut trees outside the walls will prove more beguiling, and leads practically to the same spot.

STA. MARIA DEI LAICI

Under the portico of the old Mercato, near the Giardino Pubblico, stands the small Church of Sta. Maria dei Laici or confraternity of the Bianchi. It formerly belonged to one of the numerous hospitals, eighteen of which are mentioned by the chroniclers of the fourteenth century; they were afterwards reduced to four, and finally united under the name of Ospedale Grande by Guidubaldo I. with a Bull from Pope Julius II., in 1515. In 1766 the hospital was removed to the new building on the other side of the public garden, beyond the Church of S. Francesco, having been enriched by the beneficence of Antonio Gioia and his daughter.

The foundation of the church dates from 1313, and, according to the documents of the confraternity still existing, it was adorned with frescoes by Palmerucci, Martino Nelli, and other early fourteenth century artists.

The principal interest of this church lies in the

crypt, which was formerly used as the chapel of the confraternity. It needs a little courage, however, to visit it, as frequent inundations, from the torrent that flows past the outer walls, have rendered it damp and uninviting. The frescoes, illustrating



PORTICO OF S. MARIA DEI LAICI

the Passion of our Lord, are attributed to Donato, a pupil of Palmerucci, who painted in Gubbio between the years 1374 and 1383. They are somewhat crude and realistic.

On the right wall is represented the "Flagellation," Christ bound, being scourged by two villainous looking men. Farther on, he bears his cross to

Calvary, and, still farther, we see him being nailed to the cross. The fresco is very grotesque. A horrible old man drives in a gigantic nail, whilst a crowd of soldiers and horsemen surround the group. High up, in the background, the walls and gate of Jerusalem are discernible. Behind the altar is a much damaged "Crucifixion"; out of the mouth of the repentant thief flies a demon.

On the front of the altar is a fifteenth century fresco of "Charity" seated; beneath are the arms of the Bentivogli family, with the following inscription:—

"HOC ALTARE CONSECRATEM FUIT P.R.M.D.D. OTTAVIANUM DE BENTIVOGLIIS DE EUGUBBIO DIGNIOSIMO ARCHIEPISCOPO; XXVIII OTTOBRIS 1489."

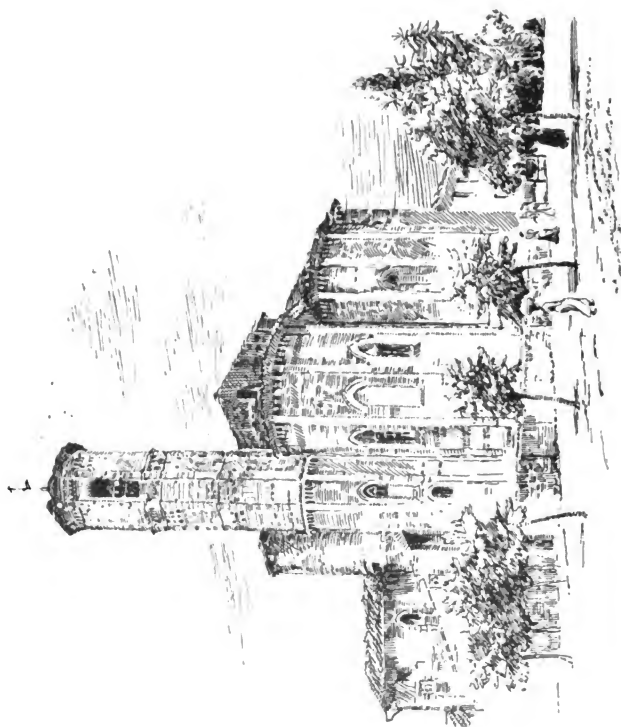
The earlier frescoes are continued on the left wall.

A niche, used as a sepulchre for the deposition of the dead Christ on Holy Thursday, contains frescoes, possibly by Mattiolo Nelli, grandfather of Ottaviano, of whom it is recorded that, on August 14, 1338, he finished a Virgin and Child and two angels with the assistance of Bartolo di Cristoforo, Giovanni di Agnolo Danti, and Cecco Masuzzi.¹ They represent, besides, a procession of saints and angels with red folded wings. Farther on, we see the "Last Supper" and the "Washing of the Apostles' Feet."

These frescoes have, however, nearly disappeared from damp and floods.

Outside the church, under the portico that runs

¹ Extracts from Vol. B. of the *Books of the Administration of S. M. de Laici*, by Signor Bonfatti



S. FRANCESCO

To face p. 197.

round the deserted tannery, are two frescoes worthy of notice. One is a half-figure of S. Anthony by Palmerucci, under a grating—very difficult to see ; the other is a fresco of the Madonna and Child between S. Peter and S. Paul, by Domenico di Cecco di Baldi. It has been so much repainted that the head of S. Paul alone preserves its character.

S. FRANCESCO

Crossing the Giardino Pubblico, we enter the Church of S. Francesco by the western door.

The city of Gubbio venerated S. Francesco from the moment of his conversion. His frequent visits to Gubbio, and the many benefits he had conferred on the city by his preaching and miracles, rendered him dear to her inhabitants whilst he lived, and no sooner had he passed from this life than he was chosen to be co-protector with her earlier patrons S. John the Baptist, S. Giacomo, S. Mariano, and S. Ubaldo. By a municipal statute all shops were ordered to be closed upon his *festa*.

It is not surprising, therefore, that this city should have been amongst the first to honour him after his death by erecting a church that should bear his name. The Franciscans obtained a privilege empowering them to build the convent and church as early as 1241. The work, however, was not begun until 1259, when a concession was granted by Pope Alexander IV. The foundations were laid on a portion of land, where stood the house and garden of Giacomello Spadalunga, who, by thus dedicating his property to this pious purpose, not only com-

memorated his own charitable act in re-clothing S. Francesco after his encounter with the robbers, but also linked for ever his name with that of his friend.¹

It would appear that the work advanced but slowly, as we learn from the Archivio Armanni that, in 1292, Pope Nicholas IV. promulgated a Bull, in which he called upon the cities of Perugia and Nocera to assist Gubbio with subsidies, in order to complete the building.² It was erected after designs by the celebrated Frate Bevignate.

S. Francesco is, perhaps, the finest example of Gothic architecture in Gubbio. Following a custom that prevails in most Franciscan churches, the principal entrance opens towards the north-west. Unfortunately, the graceful pointed windows have all been filled in during later restorations, leaving but a few square panes to admit the light. There is a handsome circular window over the north door.

The interior consists of a vast nave, divided from the side aisles by twelve octagonal stone columns. The usual seventeenth century, stucco adornments have spoilt the purity of the original style, but the simple grandeur of the perfect proportions cannot fail to attract our admiration, as we enter into the cool dimness, out of the glare of the sunny piazza. In 1745 this beautiful church was "reduced to the modern style," writes an Italian critic, referring to the fatal wave of bad taste that swept over Italy at that period, submerging the purer lines of an earlier epoch. One can only regret that money was so much more plentiful then than now, when

¹ See chapter on "S. Francesco and the Wolf."

² This church belongs to the Minori Conventuali.

even necessary restorations are too costly to be undertaken. In a small recess, formerly a chapel, at the foot of the staircase that leads to the belfry, exist the remains of some frescoes attributed to Palmerucci, but probably the work of his pupils.¹ They are much defaced, but Sta. Chiara and the Four Evangelists can still be identified. On the ceiling there is a figure of Christ with hand raised in the act of benediction, in vestments richly ornamented.

The church contains a few sixteenth century pictures by native Eugubine artists, the best of which represents the Virgin and S. John, with S. Francis, at the foot of the cross, signed, "Benedictus de Nucciis, 1540." In the sacristy there is a curious picture by his son, Virgilio Nucci, dated 1584. The Virgin, carrying in her arms the infant Jesus, stamps on vice in the form of a serpent with the head of a woman, under which is inscribed the name of "Margherita Nucci," a spiteful and somewhat significant reference to the wife of the painter.

Under the altar of S. Carlo Boromeo, on the left side of the church, repose the remains of the Blessed Franceschina, a Tertiary of the Franciscan Order, who died at Gubbio the 6th July 1255, on her return from a pilgrimage to Assisi, whither she had been to obtain the indulgence of the Porziuncula. These relics are reported to have worked a miracle on behalf of some Hungarian pilgrims, for which reason the Eugubini hold them in high esteem.

Not less miraculous is the legend of the Blessed

¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider them to be the work of the close of the fourteenth century.

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Others of Rimini, who halted at Gubbio these other spiritual sisters and other pilgrims Urbino and Cagli, bringing with them food for eight days, but who departing, much behind them that a hundred poor were left on what remained. The Blessed King had a gentleman of Gubbio of a noble family, and restored to sight a blind child who encountered on the road leading towards the

After the institution of the Indulgence of Ronzomonte, Gubbio became one of the principal places for pilgrims from Romagna. Some from thence to Assisi being considered almost, was also the most frequented and famous the safest. A cannon-ball, having made one of the alters on the right hand side of the church, records the famous siege of Perugia in which the Augustines took part with the

The convent is now occupied by the Carthusians, and nothing remains within its precincts of its establishment as a religious house. The usual entrance of St. Francesco and the Wall, which formerly hung in a curtain, has been removed as it attracts no attention.

St. Francesco and repressing the Gubbio of the narrow streets will confine the narrow parts near the summit of the hill, at the back of the Madonna Vecchia, which stands the Gothic Church of St. Quirico.

The church is a fine specimen of the Gothic style, and is a fine specimen of the Gothic style, and is a fine specimen of the Gothic style.

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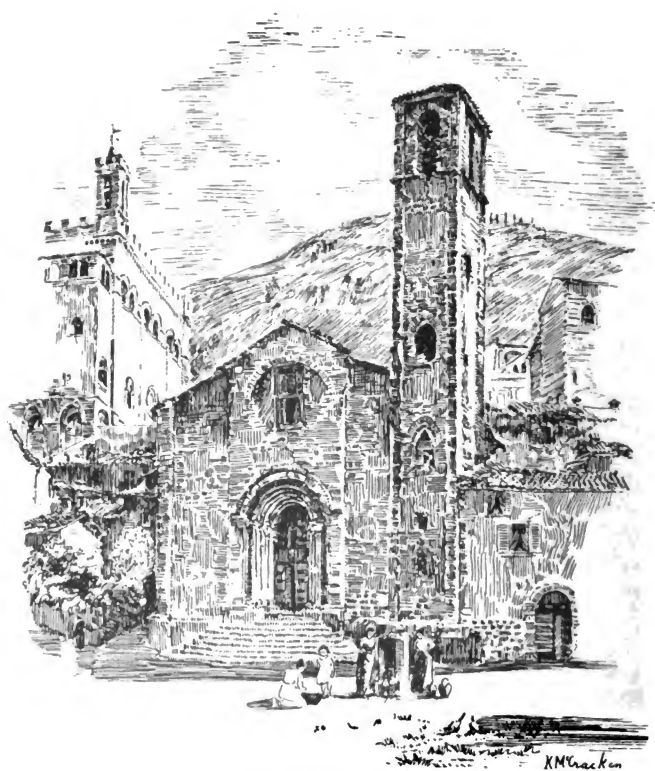
Chiara of Rimini, who halted at Gubbio with three other spiritual sisters and other pilgrims from Urbino and Cagli, bringing with them food sufficient for eight days, but who departing, left so much behind them that a hundred poor people were fed on what remained. The Blessed Chiara also healed a gentleman of Gubbio of a grievous sickness, and restored to sight a blind child whom she encountered on the road leading towards Assisi.

After the institution of the Indulgence of the Porziuncula, Gubbio became one of the principal resting-places for pilgrims from Romagna. The route from thence to Assisi being considered the shortest, was also the most frequented and consequently the safest. A cannon-ball, hanging beside one of the altars on the right hand side of the church, records the famous siege of Perugia in 1779, in which the Eugubines took part with the troops from Arezzo.

The convent is now occupied by the Carabinieri, and nothing remains within its precincts to record its establishment as a religious house.¹ The picture of S. Francesco and the Wolf, by Damiani, which formerly hung in a corridor leading to the sacristy, has been removed to the Municipal Museum.

Leaving S. Francesco and recrossing the Giardino Pubblico, one of the narrow streets will conduct the visitor to a small piazza near the torrent of the Camignano at the back of the Mercato Vecchio. In this piazza stands the Gothic church of S. Giovanni Battista.

¹ It was once called the Convent of the Cento Celli (hundred cells).



S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA

(First Cathedral)

To face p. 201.

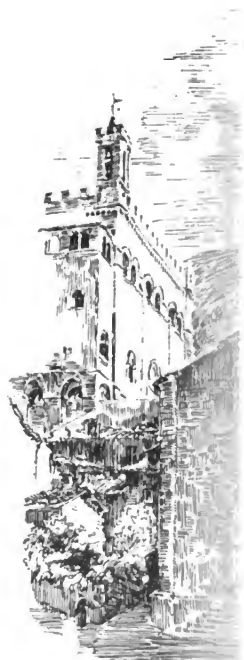
S. GIOVANNI BATTISTA

The foundation of this church is undoubtedly of extreme antiquity ; tradition refers it to the earliest introduction of Christianity. Here probably stood the first Cathedral of Gubbio dedicated to S. John the Baptist, who was the original protector of the city, as we gather from the ancient acts of the Cathedral Chapter, which are invariably signed "*In plebem Johannis.*" It will be remembered that one of the most precious relics given by Frederick Barbarossa to S. Ubaldo was the finger of S. John the Baptist.

The present church belongs to the tenth century, and is of simple Gothic architecture. The principal doorway is surrounded by a handsome, rounded arch supported by graceful columns, with a flat moulding of red marble above. The western side is lighted by long, narrow, lancet windows. The vault of the roof is spanned by wide arches similar to those of the Cathedral of SS. Giacomo and Mariano, supported by small columns of pietra serena. The high altar, of the same stone, is modern, and belongs to the period of the restorations when, in 1865, the church returned to its early Gothic form.

The church is very bare, and boasts of no pictures of any merit. A curious old font of Renaissance workmanship records the story of S. John the Baptist, with some rather original details.

No. 1 illustrates the birth of S. John the Baptist, and is interesting as giving a view of the city in



To face p. 201.

the background. A domed church stands amongst cypress trees, and not far off an old house that suggests a primitive representation of the Palazzo dei Consoli. Near a bed, elementary in perspective, Zachariah is writing the name of the child at the request of his friends.

In No. 2 we see S. John in the Wilderness, the figure of the eternal Father hovers over him.

In No. 3 S. John, clothed in camel's hair, baptizes Christ, a curious short figure.

No. 4, Herod crowned, stands with Herodias in a balcony; to them advances S. John by a flight of steps to the left, full of reproof. A short figure to the right may perhaps be Herodias' daughter.

No. 5 represents the Visitation.

No. 6. This panel represents two scenes: one, the feast at which Herodias and other guests are present, and the other the Decapitation.

Near the door stands a graceful Renaissance vessel for holy water with a stem like palm leaves.

Leaving this church the visitor should turn to the west, and following one of the narrow ways to the Camignano must cross a little bridge by the Molino dell Abbondanza; the Via Toschi Mosca, on the other side, will soon bring him into the quarter of S. Martino, then, passing under the wide eaves of the Palazzo Beni, he will find himself almost immediately in front of the church.



THE CAMIGNANO

To face p. 203.

S. MARTINO

S. Martino is a parish church, and gave its name to one of the four quarters of the city, the quarter of the Eagle and the olive. It is as often called S. Domenico, because it was attached to a convent belonging to the monks of that order. The Piazza has been re-named "Giordano Bruno"—unfortunate choice—but, if you want to find your way, you must ask for it by its old name of S. Martino, for the people are tenacious of old customs and appellations.

There are authentic records of a church having existed on this spot from the eleventh century, dedicated to S. Martin of Tours, but according to certain episcopal documents, it would appear to have been reconsecrated in 1287 by Benevento, Bishop of Gubbio, in presence of the neighbouring Bishops of Città di Castello, Nocera, Foligno, and Assisi, possibly on occasion of its enlargement or restoration. There is a difference of opinion as to when it came into possession of the Dominicans. Giampaoli affirms that it already belonged to them in the thirteenth century, but Cantelmaggi, referring to a letter of Nicolo, Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, written to Francesco, Bishop of Gubbio, denies that they entered into possession before 1304, when they acquired it by a commission of Pope Benedict XI.

As in the case of so many Italian churches, the façade has never been completed, but from the side abutting on a small street, "Cleofe Borromei," it

may be seen from the form of the windows, similar to those filled in at S. Francesco, that the style was Gothic. A splendid convent was attached to the church, built round three sides of a charming cloister, now much ruined; the monks also possessed a delightful garden, within walls. In a private apartment that once formed part of the convent are included the rooms formerly used by the office of the Inquisition. The ceilings are adorned with paintings depicting the burning of heretical books.

The church is usually entered through the sacristy, by a door leading out of the cloister. The interior was entirely transformed in 1765, but the fine proportions they could not spoil. It is built in the form of a Latin cross, with a wide, handsome nave of very lofty height. The choir contains twenty-six stalls, in double row, and a reading-desk inlaid with the beautiful intarsia work of Terzuolo. An inscription bears the date 1553, but this must refer to the restorations, because the intarsia work is earlier, and distinctly belongs to the fifteenth century, the intaglia to the sixteenth. The panels of the fine octagonal lectern are exquisitely inlaid with representations of liturgical objects, similar to those in the stalls of the upper church at Assisi. The small pilasters are gracefully ornamented in low relief.

The chapel to the left of the high altar contains a picture of the "Circumcision" by the Eugubine artist, Felice Damiani. It is interesting, as introducing into the foreground the portraits of Guidubaldo I. and Elizabetta Gonzaga, his wife. The painting is divided into three groups. The centre

group represents the Holy Family and the circumcision. The infant Jesus in the arms of the High Priest turns towards his Mother, who leans tremblingly against the table, overcome with maternal anxiety. Immediately below this group, to the right, kneels the family of the Montefeltri; to the left, S. Pius V. The figures give the impression of being too small.

At this same altar we find a fine gilt antependium, sculptured in wood, representing David slaying the lion. From a tree in the background his guardian angel watches over him. Above, is the symbol of the Eucharist. It is of sixteenth or seventeenth century workmanship, and resembles the antependium in the Municipal Museum, that illustrates the meeting of S. Ubaldo and Frederick Barbarossa. Beside the high altar stand two handsome sixteenth century candelabra, carved by the hands of Giacomo Masci or Antonio di Menico, sculptors in wood, whose work is also to be found at Perugia.

The best picture in this church is to be found at the third altar to the left, by Tommaso Nelli, brother of Ottaviano. It represents S. Vincenzo Fereri, the great Dominican saint famed for his austerities, sheltering beneath his mantle a crowd of devout persons. Above, the Saviour is seen inspiring S. Vincenzo. The lower corners represent, in monochrome, two miracles of the saint, in which he resuscitates sick people. Crowe and Cavalcaselle consider that this picture owes some of its pleasing qualities to the influence of Gentile da Fabriano. It was painted at the instance of Gianniculo di Cristoforo, and no doubt was a

votive offering for benefits received. Originally in tempera, this picture was repainted in oil.

At the fifth altar we find a fine coloured terracotta statue of S. Anthony, by the rare artist Maestro Giorgio Andreoli, inventor of the famous iridescent lustre on the pottery known as Gubbio ware.

On the right side is a picture of the Last Supper, attributed to Giovanni Bellini, probably a sixteenth century copy. The colour, however, is rich and pleasing. In the foreground the Apostles kneel to receive the communion as a sacred rite, instead of sitting at table as usually depicted. In the background the Transfiguration is portrayed.

At the third altar, on the same side, there is a Presepio by Scarsellino, in which one of the adoring shepherds wears a curiously modern felt hat.

The Chapel of the Sacrament, to the right of the high altar, contains a fourteenth century statue of the Madonna del Rosario, of wood.

In the convent is preserved a beautiful fifteenth century pyx of copper, silver-plated and gilt, with six half-length enamel figures of Dominican saints round the foot.

The church has been declared a national monument, and, since the above lines were written, the Dominican Order has unfortunately been obliged to withdraw its sole representative for lack of funds. The church is now served by a secular priest. Pursuing our way along the Via Gabrielli as far as the Porta Metauro, we find a little church on the banks of the Camignano, just outside the walls to the right, called

STA. CROCE DELLA FOCE

This church is of very ancient origin, and was used by a confraternity of the same name, who were affiliated in the thirteenth century to the Dominican Order. A Brief of Pope Celestine II. places it under the jurisdiction of the Cathedral. The decorations of the building belong for the most part to the sixteenth century, and all refer to the Passion; there are, however, some curious old sculptures round the arch leading to the sanctuary, which appear to be of a much earlier date. Amongst them we find the following:—

1. Christ before Pilate. 2. Pilate washes his hands. 3. The Jews accuse Christ. 4. Judas offers to return the blood-money, and, in the same compartment, is seen hanging on a tree. 5. Christ falls under the Cross. 6. Christ before the High Priest, and two others which seem to be repetitions.

The next church that merits observation is the church of Sto. Spirito in the Via Cairolì.

STO. SPIRITO

The church and convent of Sto. Spirito belong to the first half of the thirteenth century, and owe their foundation to Bishop Villano. An important hospital already existed on this spot, and formed the principal motive of the establishment. Its object was twofold, namely, for the reception of pilgrims and lepers, and the care of sick persons; but, in

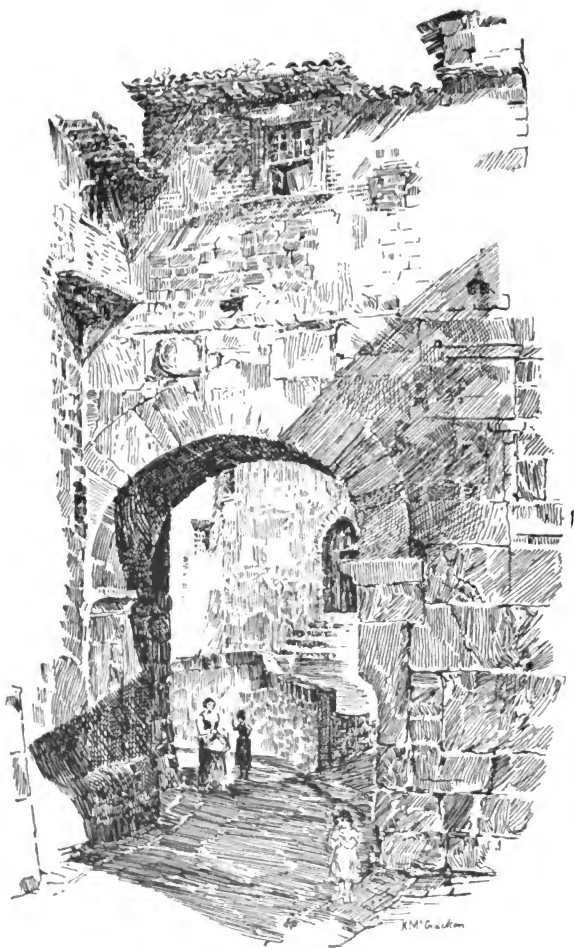
1221, it would appear to have changed its scope. A pious lady named Clermondina, being about to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, made a disposition in her will for the establishment of a hospital for poor, sick persons only, sufficient provision for pilgrims existing elsewhere.

In 1295, Bishop Ventura approved of the erection of a hospital, both for pilgrims and sick persons, near the Porta Marmorea, to be called "Sta. Maria della Carità," as there was a fear that the hospital of Sto. Spirito would be suppressed. By this time it had come to be recognised as a sort of poorhouse, or infirmary, dedicated specially to incurable cases—"Infelici permanenti ed infermi," and not for passing pilgrims. Later, it passed into the possession of the "Arte di Lana" or Guild of Wool Merchants, on whom it was bestowed for the benefit of their aged and infirm workmen; but finally, in 1467, the fate so long menacing the hospital brought about its suppression, and it was conferred instead, by Bishop Severi, on a group of small sisterhoods from outside the walls, whom he united together under the name of the Convent of Sta. Maria del Paradiso.

The first prioress of the new convent was Francesca di Castel Durante, who was already a nun of Sta. Agata, at Urbino, having been sent thither by Federico of Montefeltro, to restore the religious life in that city.

It now belongs to nuns of the Order of the Canons Regular. On the eastern side may still be seen the graceful, pointed, thirteenth century windows, now filled in.

The internal decorations of the church belong to the florid style of the sixteenth century.



VIA APPENNINA

(Near S. Marziale)

To face p. 209.

The churches of Sta. Maria de' Servi and of Sta. Trinità, both in the Corso, call for no remark from an artistic point of view. The "Noli me Tangere," by Timoteo Vite, that now hangs in the Pinacoteca of the Palazzo Municipio, formerly belonged to the latter church, but was removed at the time of the suppression of the religious orders. Sta. Trinità was built by the Disciplinati of S. Agostino in the fourteenth century, when they were forced to leave their former hospital, outside the Porta Romana. Later, in the sixteenth century, when the hospitals were united under one head, it passed into the hands of the Tertiaries of the Riformate (nuns of the Third Order of S. Francis), who still occupy the convent. The confraternity of the Disciplinati then erected for themselves the small church of "S. Giovanni decollato," in the upper part of the former hospital buildings, opening on to the Via Savelli della Porta, above.

S. MARZIALE

In the Via Appennina, not far from the Porta Romana, stands the graceful little convent church of S. Marziale, belonging to nuns of the Benedictine Order. It was founded in 1365, as we gather from a letter addressed to the Abbess by Giovanni, Bishop of Gubbio, which bears the date of that year. The beautiful little apse abuts on the Via XX Settembre, but the entrance is at the side. Over the High Altar is a picture by Nucci—an Eugubine artist—of the Madonna and Child with S. Marziale and S. Andrea. The Madonna is seated,

and wears a red dress and blue starred mantle. Angels crown her from above. S. Marziale, to the right, wears a curious dress which fits close to his body, with full skirt of a brownish colour, and a red cloak. In his left hand he holds a book. S. Andrea is clothed in blue with a red mantle. In the foreground S. John the Baptist, a young boy, advances, holding up his hand in the attitude of a preacher; in his left he bears the standard of the cross. The only other picture is of Sta. Sperandia, a Benedictine saint. The choir, seen through a grating, is of "intarsia dipinta." Near the door stands a graceful holy water vessel on a twisted column.

S. GIROLAMO

The Franciscan convent of S. Girolamo is reached by a charming walk, of not more than half-an-hour, outside the city walls beyond the Porta Romana. The way is picturesque, and recalls, in a measure, the expedition to the Carceri near Assisi, except that it takes a much shorter time.

Leaving the gate of the city and turning sharply to the left, between the Church of S. Agostino and the torrent-bed of the Cavarello, a steep path leads up to a little shrine, where a seat, inside the chapel, invites a welcome rest after the fatigue of the abrupt ascent. Let not the pilgrim be beguiled by turning to the right past the casa colonica, but let him keep straight on, up the rugged way, until this spot is reached; the worst of the climb is then over, but let him pause to notice the picturesque-

ness of the deep waterway worn by the torrent when, swollen by the fierce storms of winter, it tears wildly down between the rocks of this stern mountain gorge, to the peril of the city walls. It will be remembered how this little stream, apparently so harmless, often threatened to undermine the hospital of the Disciplinati of S. Agostino, so that they were obliged finally to move it to another and safer spot within the city. High up the mountain, starting from a chapel on the other side of the ravine, we notice a narrow line that indicates the route of one of the old water supplies of Gubbio, destined to supplement the famous aqueduct on the other side of Monte Ingino.

Turning upwards, the road is rough and stony, a true pilgrim's path, till we come to the Stations of the Cross. We are now high up above the wooded valley, and can trace many enticing field-ways meandering through the vineyards below. A beguiling pathway lies at our very feet under tall, shady oaks; it leads nowhere in particular, but suggests pleasant coolness under the wide spreading branches, with soft flowery banks beneath, for repose. It can be reached by passing the *casa colonica* before mentioned.

Yet a few steps, and we arrive at S. Girolamo. The chapel and convent lie snug in the hollow of the mountain side, well sheltered, on the north, from the cruel, wintry winds, and open to the full blaze of the sun to the east and south. Strangers are readily admitted on ringing the convent bell, and a refreshing draught of the simple country wine is easily obtained from the hospitable fathers, for which generosity it is hoped the wayfarer will not

neglect to offer a small donation, for it will not be solicited ; but the frati, let it be remembered, are the true sons of Saint Francis, dedicated to poverty, yet, nevertheless, they must live.

This convent was founded by the generosity of Battista and Girolamo Biscaccianti de Bisceribus, citizens of Gubbio, to perpetuate the memory of a miracle performed by S. Francesco on this spot, in restoring to life a dead woman. To this end they dedicated the sheltered nook where nestle the convent buildings, with the greater part of the adjacent woods. The exact year is not recorded, nor is it known whether the erection took place before or after the death of S. Francesco ; but the convent was, undoubtedly, established by 1358, when Gubbio was under the jurisdiction of Giovanni, a Bishop of the Franciscan order.

Pope Martin V., by a Bull dated 1420, confirms the existence of a small Order, and dedicates the cloister of S. Girolamo to their use in the following terms, "for certain Eugubines who desire to form themselves into a congregation to lead the monastic life."

In the first instance these would not appear to have been Franciscans, for one account relates that during the previous pontificate of Pope John XXIII., who renounced the Papacy at the Council of Constance, certain Eugubines obtained permission to incorporate themselves into the Order of the "Crocifisso di S. Agostino," but that Pope Martin V., by request of Count Guid' Antonio of Montefeltro, allowed them to unite themselves to the religious of S. Girolamo. Later, however, the frate of S. Girolamo, disliking this union, obtained

from Pope Eugenius IV. their liberation from the unwelcome intrusion. Finally, the Padri Osservanti were removed, and the Riformati substituted by request of the magistrates of Gubbio, as we learn by documents relating to the Dukes of Urbino, on whom they were dependent. The Riformati; however, for some unexplained reason, appear to have delayed establishing themselves at S. Girolamo for thirteen years. It was not till December 3, 1625, that they were domiciled at the convent. The Riformati and Osservanti are now united. It has been suggested that the reason of the delay was the repugnance of the nuns of Sta. Trinità to find themselves under the immediate spiritual jurisdiction of the Riformati, also the dislike of this branch to have the care of nuns, since their ideal was to live like hermits. However, the difficulty was at length overcome or in some way accommodated, and they came into residence, as we have seen, in 1625.

The church is a restful little spot, and a pilgrimage once made there will tempt a repetition. Pleasant sylvan paths also wind upwards under the oak trees. The dreamy view from the terrace inclines one to linger in the shade of the convent walls. Time is forgotten; the tinkle of the sheep bell, or the downward rush of swift, timid feet are the only sounds that disturb our reverie, till we are roused by the steadfast gaze of the tiny child who guards the flock, or perhaps by the voice of the old convent factotum, who breaks the spell at length by discoursing of things more material.

S. SECONDO

The church and convent of S. Secondo lie outside the walls, on the western side of Gubbio. The best way is to take the shady road outside the city walls, passing the Carabinieri barracks that occupy the former convent of S. Francesco, till the convent of S. Benedetto is reached. Leaving this building on the left hand side, a country road must be pursued for about a couple of hundred yards, when the convent of S. Secondo will be found to the right.

For artistic interest the little cemetery should be visited before the church.

Ottaviano Nelli has left his impress on Gubbio, by transmitting his graceful style to many of the followers of his school. Jacopo di Bedi, in 1458, decorated the cappella Pamfili in the cemetery of S. Secondo, and we recognise the influence of the master in the fresco of the Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, though we find much less accuracy of drawing and a more subdued tone of colouring.

The centre fresco represents the death of the saint, whilst God the Father blesses him from above, in the midst of seraphims and angels. To the right, we see the scourging of S. Sebastian in imitation of the flagellation of Christ; to the left, his sepulture; above, S. John the Evangelist. In the vault of the ceiling are the four great doctors of the Church, S. Jerome, S. Ambrose, S. Augustine and S. Gregory. The cemetery contains, besides, a few remains of frescoes that show traces of the Sienese influence. The church, in part, belongs to the

thirteenth century, but the foundation is undoubtedly of an earlier date; tradition places it as far back as A.D. 292, when a certain Eudoxia Gabrielli built a church to preserve the ashes of S. Secondo; who suffered martyrdom during the Christian persecutions under the Emperor Maximian. It is manifestly impossible to verify such a legend, nor can we accurately affirm the identity of S. Secondo; but, if we are unwilling to accept an origin so little authenticated, we may, at least, admit the fact of its foundation and possession by the Canons Regular from a very early period.

It is probable that both the church and convent buildings were rebuilt, or enlarged, more than once, according to the requirements of the community. The apse of the present church shows the architectural features of the thirteenth century, but the Canonry contains archives which go back to the twelfth century, proving their continuous establishment on this spot for some considerable time. The usual sixteenth century restorations have deprived the church of its Gothic roof, but the late removal of a pompous wooden structure of that period has revealed a stone altar, the beautiful Gothic arches and columns of which recall the high altar of S. Francesco at Assisi.

The Canons Regular, like most of the religious orders, once possessed a hospital in connection with their monastery, for the reception of pilgrims and lepers. In 1169, the latter appears to have been removed outside the walls to a place appropriately named S. Lazzaro. A small disused church dedicated to this saint still exists amongst the fields and vineyards, under the oak trees down in the plain,

but whether it formed part of the leper hospital of 1168 no one can now tell.

The starved-looking contadino, who told us that for twenty-five years he had never known a mass to be celebrated in the little church, looked like Lazarus himself. Leprosy, we know, from M. Sabatier's *Life of S. Francesco*, was the scourge of the middle ages, brought back from the East by the Crusaders; no doubt it was nourished by the poverty and scarcity which were the result of the perpetual wars and struggles that for so many centuries desolated this part of Italy. The Beato Benvenuto da Gubbio, a soldier who was converted by S. Francesco, devoted himself to the lepers of S. Lazzaro, and became Custode of the hospital. According to a document in the Archivio of S. M. de' Bianchi, he was beatified by Pope Gregory IX. in 1236, a year after his death.

S. GIULIANO

The small Church of S. Giuliano, near the fountain of the same name, close beside the Bargello, need only be mentioned as having been founded in 1192, by Bishop Bentivoglio, and as having given its name to one of the quarters of the city, whose standard bore, as its insignia, the Falcon and the Rosemary.

STA. LUCIA

The Church of Sta. Lucia, close to the Porta Castello, belongs to a very poor convent of Domini-



S. GIULIANO

To face p. 216.

can nuns said to have been founded in 1329. It contains only a much restored and repainted Madonna in a gold dress, attributed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to the school of Palmerucci, but probably by Domenico di Cecco.

The only church dedicated to S. Andrea now existing belongs to a small convent of Dominican nuns, high up near the city walls. The present writer has been unable to discover the church that gave its name to the quarter that still carries as its ensign the Ostrich Feathers and the Ilex.

S. DONATO

Outside the walls, a mile or more beyond the monastery of S. Secondo, stands the little, tenth century church of S. Donato, just where the mountain range is cut in twain by the deep and stony bed of a torrent, that widens out and passes under the main road, at the spot called the Madonna del Ponte.

The Abbey of S. Donato is mentioned in the Privileges granted to the city by the Emperor Henry VI. and Otho IV. In 1338 it was conceded to the Olivetan branch of the Benedictines. Of the ancient abbey nothing now remains except a few graceful, pointed windows and some portions of its well-set masonry, now incorporated into the walls of the farm buildings that occupy the site. The church contains a much retouched fresco of S. Donato.

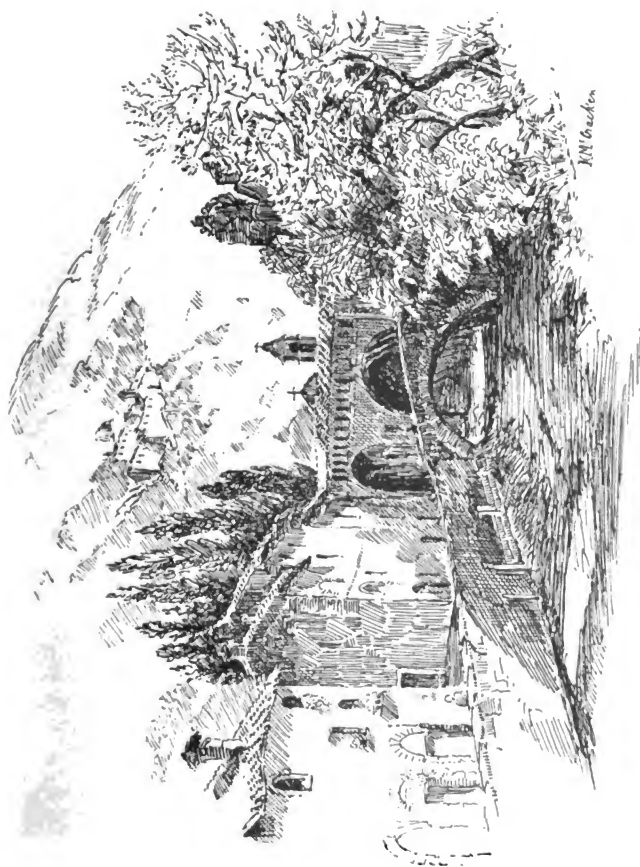
An extremely pretty walk leads to this spot along

the slopes of Monte Calvo. Starting from the Porta Metauro, at the extreme end of the Via Gabrielli, beside the Camignano, a sharp turn to the left, up a steep and rugged ascent, soon brings us to a narrow track along the mountain side. By pursuing this for about a mile and a half, turning neither to the right nor left, except for the exigencies of the path itself, following always the trodden way, we finally reach S. Donato. Even if the wanderer does not care to pursue the little highland path as far as S. Donato, it is worth while to climb up to the rise above S. Secondo, if only to enjoy the exquisitely picturesque view to be gained by looking backwards from this point. The fairest hour is that of sunset, when the whole city palpitates with the warm and fluctuating tints of the dying day, and the Abbey of Alfiolo stands out in the middle distance like some enchanted castle, as the shades of evening close mysteriously over the valley beyond.

THE HERMITAGE OF S. AMBROGIO

The Hermitage of S. Ambrogio lies outside the Porta Metauro, on the bleak side of Monte Calvo, just above the ravine through which flows the Camignano. The steep little path, mentioned in the previous directions for S. Donato, must be taken, but, having made this first ascent, we must turn sharply to the right up an extremely rugged path till the hermitage is reached.

It was founded in 1331 by a few hermits, in the time of Bishop Pietro Gabrielli, who raised it to



THE CAMIGNANO

(Distant view of S. Ambrogio)

To face p. 218.

the dignity of a Priory, with the obligation that the religious should observe the rule of S. Augustine. In 1407 it was handed over to the Canons Regular of S. Salvatore.

An old chronicle relates that, in the time of Guid' Antonio of Montefeltro, many of these hermits had died, or had left the religious habit, having been unable to support the rigours of the times and the poverty and misery of the place. Finally, only one remained, Giovanni da Recolo da Gubbio, and he was very old. He consulted with Count Guid' Antonio how they could set on foot a scheme to provide a fresh community for the hermitage. By some means a certain P. Stefano, of the congregation of Sta. Maria of Rheims, appears to have been suggested, who, with his brethren, had suffered much persecution for accompanying the Pope in exile. It is further related that Gregory XII. was so impressed by his manners "*buoni e civili*," and by his "*efficace discorso*," that he begged him to remain in his dominion; but, whilst in doubt where to establish him, the Hermitage of S. Ambrogio appeared to him in a dream, by which he was directed to acquire the building where lived Giovanni da Recolo, so that divine service might be continued there. Day breaking, it was revealed to the Pontiff that the hermitage was in Gubbio. Giovanni da Recolo willingly welcomed Padre Stefano and his companions, who brought with them the bones of P. Francesco Nanni, who had died at Fabriano "*in the odour of sanctity*."

Guid' Antonio received them with courtesy, and secured them in the possession of the small

monastery, which was confirmed by a Papal Decree, given at Rimini, 23rd September 1414.¹ We are told that, in token of their gratitude, the monks began to recite daily "three Ave Marias for the soul of Conte Guid' Antonio, which they say to this day."

Alas! no pious prayers are any longer recited within these walls, save only once a year (14th July).

In the solitude of S. Ambrogio alone reposes the body of the Beato Arcangelo Canetoli, of the order of Canons Regular, in the eternal sleep of death. Solitary, unguarded, except by the contadini who inhabit the neighbouring casa colonica; in death, as in life, a true hermit, in this

"forlorn and naked hermitage,
Remote from all the pleasures of the world."

¹ There is some confusion of dates. Pope Gregory XII. undoubtedly established the Canons Regular here in 1407, and Guid' Antonio equally restored the religious life in 1413 or 1414, after his excommunication and immediate absolution by Pope John XXIII.

CHAPTER X

LIFE OF S. UBALDO

IF we select a score of prominent names from history, we are often tempted to wonder what causes, or qualities, contribute most to the durability of a reputation; we are prompted to inquire whether individual merit or the hazard of fortune preponderates most in preserving it for the admiration or criticism of posterity. We do not hesitate over such personalities as Nero's, Caligula's, and similar; neither can we confront, nor weigh them in the balance against a name like that of S. Francis of Assisi. Nero will live for ever as one of the worst men the world has ever produced, and the last word is said about him; whilst the reputation of S. Francis is an ever-growing quality, even in the midst of the materialism of the twentieth century, his influence continues undiminished, in the ideal presentment of the perfect life, lived for others. To him it was given, as to few, to be recognised for his singular virtues whilst he lived, and to go on increasing in repute during the procession of the centuries. It has been the fortune of the Borgia, the Medici, the Della Rovere, to have transmitted their names for qualities singularly unlike those of S. Francis, and eminently the reverse

of meritorious. Napoleon, again, lives by conquest and ambition. We are ready to cry in our haste, that saintliness and virtue are but featherweights in the balance ; when unexpectedly, here and there, we chance across a name unostentatious, yet imperishable, established firm as the everlasting hills, needing no modern reversal of received opinion to puzzle us into the cry of Pilate, "What is truth?"

Such a name was Ubaldo's. In the quiet heart of Umbria his reputation lives, and will live till the mountains are shaken from their foundations, for has he not renamed the very mountain itself? Monte Ingino has given place to Monte S. Ubaldo ; the man has become a rock.

And a rock he was indeed, for steadfast goodness, for strength of purpose and stoutness of heart. His lot was cast in a difficult time ; his birth occurred in the unquiet, eleventh century. Amidst the turmoil of wars and rumours of wars, he laboured for peace. We shall see how he succeeded.

"Of noble lineage," writes the Blessed Teobaldo, his biographer and successor, "but much more nobly resplendent for the integrity of his life." Ubaldo was born sometime between 1066 and 1079, the precise year is uncertain ; probably the latter is the correct date, as he was about eighty-one years of age when he died in 1160. He is described as being young in 1106, when Bishop Giovanni occupied the episcopal throne ; whereas, if he had been born in 1066, he would already have been forty years old at that time. As one of the critics remarks, "adolescence begins at fourteen or fifteen and goes on to twenty-five ; at forty he

could no longer be described as young ;" 1079 is probably, thus, the exact date of his birth.

His grandfather was a certain Pace di Baldassini, who had for wife Prudentia d'Armanno, in the early years of the eleventh century. Their son was Roraldo di Pace di Baldassino Baldassini—"a man of great piety," says the chronicler—whose wife was Giuliana Baldeschi.

The family still exists at Pesaro, whither they migrated ; Lucarelli relates that in the eighteenth century the Marchesi Baldassini applied for re-integration amongst the Eugubine nobility, and that, in the list of magistrates for the years 1753 and 1756, the names of Francesco Maria and of Alessandro Baldassini occur as holding the office of Gonfaloniere.

According to tradition, Ubaldo first saw the light in a house in what is now called the Via Baldassini, No. 22A, which has been described in another chapter. So tenaciously is this belief held in Gubbio, that we must be satisfied at least that if, according to Laspeyres, the house is of too recent architecture, nevertheless the locality is identical. A few crumbling frescoes within, high up on the wall of what was once an upper chamber before the intervening floor fell in, depict scenes in the life of the saint, and this circumstance certainly points to a decoration subsequent to his death, when they were probably executed to perpetuate the memory of the departed bishop, so well-beloved and so deserving of the devotion of his fellow-citizens.

Ubaldo's father having died whilst he was still in his infancy, he was dedicated by an uncle, who

also bore the name of Ubaldo, to the religious life, and grew up from his earliest years under ecclesiastical discipline. He was confided to the care of the Prior of the Church of S. Mariano and S. Giacomo, under whose tutelage he applied himself with devotion to the study of theology and of the humanities. So fervent were his aspirations after a truly religious life, that, dissatisfied with the conduct of the ecclesiastics connected with the Priory of S. Mariano and S. Giacomo, he retired to the convent of S. Secondo, where he was able better to follow his own ideal, and to formulate his projects for the future discipline of the church. He early matured into a gravity beyond his years, and, almost before his youth had passed, assumed the demeanour belonging to old age.

Ubaldo's religious fervour did not pass unnoted by the bishop of his day, Giovanni III. of Gubbio, so called. So pleasing to this prelate were the earnestness of his disposition and the sobriety of his conduct, that he recalled him to his Church of SS. Mariano and Giacomo.

One of Ubaldo's friends, however, deeming it a pity that he should renounce so soon the pleasures of the world, thus spoke to him one day in the intimacy of friendship: "See how your relations keep your inheritance for themselves, and that you gain neither pleasure nor advantage from the use of it. Take then a wife, your equal in nobility, and, like a man, enjoy your regained possessions in peace." To which words Ubaldo made reply: "May God forbid that I should ever lose that purity which I have always dedicated to the Lord, or, by uniting myself with a woman, ever offend

him in the slightest degree. As for my substance, know that my portion amongst the living is determined, and that my God is part of my inheritance."

Ubaldo was, without doubt, one of the most striking personalities of his day, a worthy peer for his great contemporary, Frederick Barbarossa. Endowed by nature with a strong individuality and a profound sense of rectitude, possessed, besides, by a deep feeling of patriotism, he was able to impress these noble characteristics upon his fellow-citizens. He became at once their hero and their pastor, as he has since become their patron and protector. His pure and noble aims were directed ever to the maintenance of peace and to the moral elevation of his people, and in these aspirations he did not fail. As hero and saint he lives in their hearts, and, even at this day, their devotion to his memory remains unabated, although seven centuries have passed since his demise. His biographer tells us that, having passed his youth in pursuits adapted rather to the sedateness of old age, and his seriousness and discretion having gained for him the commendation and regard of all his contemporaries, he was unanimously elected to the dignity of Prior of S. Mariano and S. Giacomo. But his heart was lacerated by the state of abasement into which the religious life had descended. All spirituality, all sense of decorum had vanished from the cloister. The doors were open, both day and night, to whomsoever would enter; many of the Canons resided in their own homes. Religious observance was limited to the ringing of the hours, ecclesiastical discipline had ceased to exist. The profoundly

religious nature of Ubaldo was stirred to his very soul.

"What then could the man of God do? Where could he turn? Whither hope for counsel?" cries his biographer. "He saw the bark of Holy Church lashed by the raging tempest, threatened by shipwreck. . . . Deeply afflicted was that soul, devoted to God, swimming amongst the hungry waves. In the midst of the wickedness of man he felt that he was the companion of dragons and cocatrices," dramatically exclaims the Blessed Teobaldo. "But God did not leave him desolate, but furnished him with so much virtue, that he was able to persuade three of the clerics to abandon the dissolute customs into which they had lapsed, and to seek with him, once more, the higher paths, and to live according to monastic rule, restoring to the Canonry, the cloister, the refectory, the dormitory, and the choir their legitimate uses and regulations."

His next step was to retire to the monastery of Sta. Maria in Porto, where "apostolic virtue and religious discipline were observed with fervour." Here he abode three months, perfecting himself in the knowledge and observance of the rule, so that, having learnt himself, he might the better be able to teach others. On his return to Gubbio he brought with him a manuscript containing the code of the order of canons.

Having imposed upon himself a rigid fast during the whole of the journey, tired out, he fell asleep in a copse by the way, and, awakening, set forth with his companion, forgetting the precious manuscript, which he left lying on the ground. Here we have the first miracle wrought in his favour.

As soon as he perceived his loss he turned back in anxious haste, fearing lest his treasured book might have suffered damage from the torrents of rain that had fallen meanwhile, or that it might have been carried off by some other passer-by. He found the manuscript lying just where he had left it when he slept; and imagine his joy on recovering it wholly unhurt, for not only had it in no way suffered from the rainfall, but it was not even wet! He carried it gladly to his brethren, and, having prevailed on them to conform once more to the monastic rule, he re-established, in due decorum, the religious life amongst the Canons of S. Mariano and S. Giacomo.

Shortly after this time, probably about 1115 or 1116, a serious fire broke out in the city of Gubbio, and a great part of the priory and church of SS. Mariano and Giacomo perished. It is very probable that, at that period, the roofs were of thatch, some of the walls still show the blackened traces of the flames; the refectory, however, was not in existence in the time of Ubaldo, but was built by Bishop Villano, the friend and contemporary of S. Francis of Assisi. This calamity so depressed Ubaldo, that he conceived the idea of resigning his office and of retiring to Fonte Avellana. But having manifested this intention to Pietro of Rimini, prior of that monastery, a man of great fame and sanctity, Pietro rebuked him saying that, "God tries all in a furnace, as gold is tried," and added that this misfortune was probably sent to prove him: "Know," said he, "that the prize is given alone to those who fight the battle bravely." He exhorted him, therefore, to return and rebuild his church and cloister. Urged by his counsel, Ubaldo returned to his

church, and was rewarded by finding help flow in, from all sides, to the great enrichment of the church and advantage of the order.

Not long after this time the Bishop of Perugia "paid the debt of humanity," and the fame and repute of Ubaldo's sanctity had, by this time, so increased, that he was held in high esteem far beyond the walls of his own city. The Perugini were desirous of electing him forthwith. But Ubaldo cautiously refrained from accepting the honour, until he should have been persuaded of the Divine Will in the matter, and, fearing that the Perugini might insist, he fled to a lonely hermitage and hid himself three days. But, returning secretly to Gubbio, he took with him four companions and made his way, on foot, to Rome. Presenting himself to Pope Honorius, and having frankly opened to him his heart, he entreated the Holy Father to cancel his election. The Pope, not wishing to afflict one in whom he perceived such rare virtue and humility, and in whom the spirit of true piety was so evident, listened to his prayer, revoked the election and permitted him to depart. "Thus," says the old chronicler, "he was reserved by divine disposition to become the Bishop of his own fellow-citizens."

In 1129 "Bishop Stefano, of blessed memory, departed this life," and the city of Gubbio remained for some time without a pastor, for the clergy were unable to agree in the choice of a successor. Ubaldo, once more, had recourse to Rome, having previously obtained a promise from the ecclesiastics of Gubbio that they would abide by the nomination of the Pope. Divers names

were submitted to the Holy Father, but he would have none of them, nor would he consider any other name than Ubaldo's, exacting his acceptance as an act of obedience, and enjoining on the other clerics, who accompanied him, an equal submission to his will. Ubaldo was, accordingly, consecrated at Rome, and his biographer remarks that, "as he increased in dignity so he also increased in gentleness, goodness, and wisdom." Probably the clergy had shown themselves unwilling to elect Ubaldo, fearing the austerity of his rule ; but time proved that their fears were groundless ; if he was austere, it was with himself alone ; towards others he was ever a tender father, prompt to forgive an injury in the most Christ-like spirit, as the following legend will illustrate.

Finding some masons engaged one day in the construction of some building near the city walls that trespassed on a vineyard belonging to the church, Ubaldo remonstrated with the overseer, who thereupon assaulted him and promptly threw him into a pool of quicklime. Ubaldo calmly extricated himself, happily uninjured, and, uttering no word of reproof even to the angry man, returned to his abode. But the city rose in tumult, seized the offender, and would have put him instantly to death, confiscating, at the same time, all his goods, and destroying the building he was engaged upon, had not Ubaldo intervened, declaring that vengeance belonged to him alone. He accordingly sent for the reprobate, who by this time feared no less than death. The Bishop, not unwilling perhaps to give him a lesson, demanded whether he would submit to whatever punishment

he might ordain. The mason protested his readiness to accept any penalty, even death itself. But the Bishop made answer, that the sentence he had decided to impose was of so hard a nature, that he doubted whether he would be able to endure it. The man swore, by the most terrific oaths, that he was prepared to accept anything that might be required of him. What, then, was his surprise when the Bishop, rising from his chair, approached him and said, "My son, embrace me, and may God Almighty forgive thee this, and whatever other sins thou hast committed."

From this circumstance S. Ubaldo has become the special patron of the Guild of Masons, and at the festival of S. Ubaldo on the 15th May, the "Cero," bearing the figure of this saint, is always carried by members of that body.

It is wonderful that those turbulent times should have produced a man so gentle and humble; so wise, and learned, and discreet; no simple hermit and bookworm, however, but a man of character and action, able to rule.

His biographers describe him as "beyond everything pleasing in conversation, his speech flavoured with the salt of wisdom, benignant and affable." He mortified his body incredibly, caring nothing for delicious food and soft clothing, subsisting mostly on dry bread, and wearing poor and scanty garments, but decent withal, for he abhorred ostentation even in poverty. He lay on the meanest of beds, for he despised the comforts and pleasures of the world. Even in later years, when grievously afflicted by illness, he never suffered himself to care for his poor body, tortured by

many ailments. When, by reason of some trouble of the skin, he could not lie at ease in his bed, he is described as taking his rest between two chairs that supported his head and feet, so that his body hung between. It is related that twice he broke his leg and once his shoulder, but all these ills he bore with exemplary patience, nor ever did a murmur pass his lips; "rather," says his biographer, "like S. Paul, he gloried in his infirmities," rejoicing that his Saviour considered him worthy to suffer.

On one occasion a serious sedition broke out in the city; the tumult assumed such desperate proportions, that many of the citizens remained dead and wounded in the piazza. Ubaldo, grieved beyond measure, hastened to the spot, hoping to pacify the combatants, but without success. The excited crowd would not even hear his voice. We can picture them surging hither and thither, dealing shrewd blows and shouting fierce cries. Words failing, Ubaldo did not hesitate to act. Heeding neither the swords of the combatants nor the "hail of stones," he resorted to a subterfuge. Throwing himself in the thick of the fight he feigned death, and fell to the ground as if mortally wounded. The populace, who loved him well, believing him to be dead, threw away their arms, and, men and women alike, tore their hair for grief, "weeping and wailing for their Spiritual Father," each accusing himself of having caused the good Bishop's death. Whilst their cries ascended to heaven, Ubaldo rose and, silencing them by a sign from his hand, showed them that he was not even hurt. "And so it happened," says Teobaldo, "that whilst the Bishop

exposed himself to the risk of death to save his people, it befell that the people lived and the Bishop did not die."

Many miracles are related of Ubaldo, both during his lifetime and after his death. How he recovered a well-beloved monk from the brink of the grave, at Fonte Avellana, whither he often retired for repose and refreshment of spirit, in the unbroken solitudes of Monte Catria. Again, he restored to sight a blind man, who merely kissed his hand ; he also cured many paralysed persons and others afflicted with demoniacal possessions.

Of another blind man it is related that, having been advised in a dream that if he presented himself to Ubaldo he would be healed, he set out, and on the way passed by an orchard where men were gathering cherries. His guide telling him of the enticing sight, he cried out, asking them to give him some of the fruit ; but they replied, "Come up into the tree and gather for yourself." The blind man, covered with shame, prayed, probably within himself, to S. Ubaldo to intercede for him with God. Oh, miracle ! his eyes were opened on the instant. Saying to the men, "Keep your cherries now for yourselves, I have received the blessing of sight," he joyously betook himself to Ubaldo, who, like his Divine Master, charged the man not to divulge by what means he had regained his sight, as long as he himself should live. "But Ubaldo being dead," says Teobaldo, "the miracle was noised abroad."

Two extremely important events occurred during the episcopate of Ubaldo, and must be mentioned here. Although they have been related in detail,

in a previous chapter, they cannot be omitted altogether from the life of S. Ubaldo, who, on both occasions, played so conspicuous a part in the deliverance of his city.

The first of the incidents to which I refer happened in 1154, when Gubbio, having increased in riches and power, became a prey to the rapacity of her neighbours. She was threatened with a very real and great danger, for her prosperity instigated the jealousy of no fewer than eleven other cities, namely, Perugia, Assisi, Spoleto, Bettona, Città di Castello, Cagli, Fabriano, Urbino, Sassoferrato, Fossato and Valmarcola, who, with their combined forces, marched against her up to the very walls, assailing her with such determined purpose that, but for the valiant exhortations and stimulating encouragement of her intrepid Bishop, she would probably have been forced to yield. Gubbio had at that time, however, the good fortune to be governed by a man of singularly resolute spirit, who possessed, besides, the confidence of his people. Ubaldo inspired the Eugubini with such a measure of his own heroic fortitude, that they succeeded in repulsing the enemy, partly by valour and partly by stratagem, although, it is said, that the enemy outnumbered them in the ratio of forty men to one.

The following year a fresh danger threatened the city, hardly less to be feared than the first. Frederick Barbarossa again swept down upon Italy in order to punish the revolted Lombard provinces, and, having been crowned at Rome by Pope Adrian IV., was marching northwards, sacking, burning, and destroying all the cities that refused to yield

him submission, leaving behind him, locust-like, hideous rapine and desolation. He had already reached Gualdo, at the eastern extremity of the valley, his approach heralded by sinister reports of unexampled severity; Gubbio, feeling herself utterly unable to pay the tribute demanded by the Emperor, and fearing that consequently the fate of unfortunate Spoleto might also soon be hers, awaited his coming with consternation. At this crisis the consuls determined to send a deputation, offering voluntary submission to the Emperor, and, to that end, selected ambassadors from amongst their noblest citizens. On whom could their choice fall better than on Ubaldo, the man of peace, mild and benignant of presence, wise and gracious in speech?

But Ubaldo, already of advanced age, lay grievously infirm and ill. He rose, however, from his bed of sickness and willingly undertook the perilous mission. And, not in vain, had the choice fallen on this holy man. The renown of his piety had already reached the Emperor, who not only received him with courtesy but acceded to all his requests, sending him back to Gubbio laden with presents, amongst which is said to have been included no less a relic than the finger of S. John the Baptist. Above all, they bore with them the precious intelligence that Frederick, remitting the tribute to a small nominal sum, had consented to take the city under his powerful protection. Bishop Teobaldo's picturesque account of the meeting of these two notable men has been already given in an earlier chapter.

It was doubtless on this occasion that Ubaldo's

nephew, or great-nephew, joined the service of Frederick Barbarossa.

Having arrived at extreme old age, tortured besides by many distressing infirmities, borne with the utmost resignation and patience, Ubaldo calmly awaited his last hours. Of the frequency of his prayers his biographer remarks, "every place served him as an oratory." Bishop Teobaldo quaintly describes this period :—

"Omnipotent God, having decided to reward Ubaldo for his great patience and for the merit of his other numerous virtues, in order that the star, withdrawn from earth, might shine the more brightly in the diadem of the celestial Kingdom, for nearly two years smote him with grave infirmities ; and for whatsoever negligence he might, through human frailty, have committed, in the charge confided to his care, and, also, for every fault in which by too much gentleness he had omitted to give sufficiently severe correction, and for whatever stain he might have contracted in the dust of this earth, God purified him within, by the fire of bitterness, and made him spotless without, by the waters of correction. For God, in His mercy, weighs all as in a balance, giving also a measure of tears to drink, so that His loving kindness neither leaves merit without its just recompense, nor allows His severity to outweigh the guilt of sin."

Finally, as the end approached, reduced to a state of extremest weakness, Ubaldo lay for ten days in hourly peril of death. At length, it is related, that on the vigil of Pentecost, in the month of May 1160, men, women and children, moved

by some strange, unaccountable impulse, proceeded to the episcopal residence, bearing lighted candles in their hands, and, gathering round the death-bed, awaited the passing of that great soul. The whole of that day and the following (Sunday of Pentecost) they remained beside him, praying and rendering him assistance, and those accounted themselves fortunate who succeeded in kissing his hands and his feet. All entreated him to make intercession for them when he should be withdrawn to the celestial kingdom, and each implored his forgiveness if, in any way, he had ever offended the Bishop by word or deed. To those who understand the Italian character, such an emotional scene is well imaginable. Death, once accomplished, has unspeakable terrors for these simple natures, but as long as life remains, if by any means they can bring spiritual comfort to the dying, they are ever ready to offer such consolation, and we can well believe that "for such a Father" they would willingly pray night and day as long as their aid could reach him. At last, during the following night (Monday of Pentecost), Ubaldo passed to his eternal repose.

They carried him to his church of SS. Mariano and Giacomo, where the present cathedral now stands, and thither flocked, from far and near, bishops, abbots, monks, and people, safe passage being granted even by those neighbouring states with whom they were at war, so that all might honour, worthily, a man who was reputed, and justly, a saint whilst he lived and whose canonisation followed so quickly his demise.

So clearly did the light of his unexampled life

shine before the eyes of his fellow-citizens, that, instead of weeping and lamenting for his departure, they cast aside all mourning and signalled their devotion by festal celebrations. During a whole year processions were daily made to his tomb, bearing lighted candles as if for a festival. "Night was turned into day," says his biographer ; " devotional songs in his honour resounded throughout the city of Gubbio." "The name of Ubaldo was heard on every lip." Never had there been such cause for rejoicing. The year succeeding Ubaldo's death was memorable for the conclusion of peace between Gubbio and many of the neighbouring cities and territories with whom she had been long at war, thus fulfilling a prophecy that had fallen from the lips of the Prior of Fonte Avellana, to whom it had been revealed in a dream : "That in his days should justice flourish, and abundance of peace after his death."

A period of great prosperity succeeded ; the harvests were rich and plentiful ; party strife within the city was laid aside. Pilgrims, from far and near, flocked to his shrine, and many were the miracles of healing attributed to his intercession. So greatly did the devotion towards the holy Bishop increase that at length, at the earnest petition of the citizens, Bishop Bentivoglio besought the Holy See to grant the canonisation of Ubaldo, which formality was pronounced by Pope Celestine III. on the 5th of March 1192, only thirty-two years after his death.

Two years later, the body of the saint was conveyed to the sanctuary on the summit of Monte Ingino, where it now reposes. Many are the

legendary motives given for this removal and for the manner of its transit. One tradition relates that, by divine direction, the sacred remains were placed upon a car, to which were harnessed two indomitable bulls, who, "laying aside their ferocity, with the greatest mildness took their way up the mountain side, followed by the canons and other ecclesiastics belonging to the Cathedral, and never halted until they reached the portico of the ancient oratory of S. Gervasio." But this is, probably, one of the myths that invariably grow up in the course of centuries around the names of venerated personages. The oratory of S. Gervasio had already ceased to exist in 1191, when the fortress was demolished. The real motive for the translation of the sacred body was, doubtless, for its better protection against the hazards of war and rapine, and, notably, against the assaults of the Emperor Henry VI., who was the determined enemy of Gubbio, a detestable custom at that time prevailing amongst these turbulent cities of plundering from each other any peculiarly sacred relic of which they might be possessed. The body of a miracle-working saint would be a special prize !

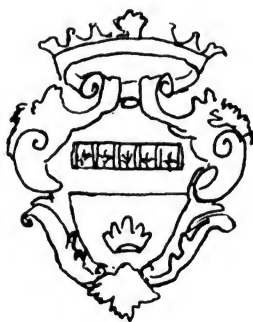
The body was, accordingly, removed on the 11th September 1194. During the seven succeeding centuries the devotion of the Eugubines has never lessened towards their patron saint. In death, as in life, he has maintained his sway over his native city. His memory is still held dear in the hearts of his fellow-citizens. Whilst he lived he earned their respect and love for his striking qualities of head and heart. A man of immense capacity for government, he added to it all the learning of his

time, leading a life of singular purity and self-abnegation, when such qualities were rare, and even unsought.

The descriptions of his methods of dealing with his people are, perhaps, a little melodramatic, but that is probably due to the literary style of his chroniclers, who delighted in picturesque detail and a recital of the marvellous.

After death he immediately supplanted St. John the Baptist, the earlier protector of Gubbio, in the affections of the Eugubini. In their loving custody we may leave him to his quiet repose on the mountain top.

“ After life’s fitful fever he sleeps well.”



CHAPTER XI

THE EUGUBINE TABLES

THE eloquent silence of these marvellous documents has piqued the curiosity, and excited the interest, of savants ever since their discovery, now more than four hundred years ago. We stand awestruck before these strange, mute records of a dim, historic past, and gaze at them with a baffled sensation somewhat akin to that inspired by the mysterious Sphinx ; we long to pierce behind the veil and penetrate their secrets ; to glean from them some insight into the lives and customs of those remote worshippers, who held in such importance the observation of their religious rites, that they caused their ritual to be transcribed on the imperishable material that has preserved them for our perusal till this day.

These bronze tables are the most precious relics possessed by the city of Gubbio. They furnish indisputable evidence of the existence of a race, of whom tradition gives us little more than the name. As a people, the Umbrians existed contemporaneously and, probably even, previously to the Etruscans, and their origin is as mysterious. Unlike the Etruscans they offer us no revelations through their mode of sepulture, they do not appear to



THE EUGUBINE TABLES

To face p. 240.



THE EUGUBINE TABLES

To face p. 241.

have left any tombs ; nothing, in fact, remains but these enigmatical cryptographs, hitherto undecipherable, and even now almost unintelligible. They have come down to us like an echo from afar ; the voice reaches us, but the articulation has been lost in transit.

According to the evidence of Antonio Concioli, jurisconsult and protonotary to the Apostolic See, who published a book on the laws and customs of his native city in 1673, these Tables were discovered in the year 1444, in an underground chamber adorned with mosaics, near the ruins of the Umbro-Roman theatre.¹ The learned Professor Michel Bréal, to whom belongs the honour of having presented to the world the actual, and most authentic, existing translation of the text, quoting the original Latin passage from Concioli's work, *Statuta Civitatis Eugubii*, notes that they were originally nine in number. This circumstance has been a subject of endless discussion, and there appear to be ample reasons for admitting the arguments on either side. There is a tradition that two out of the nine found their way to Venice, whither they were supposed to have been transported in 1540, and deposited in the Arsenal, but here the scent fails ; if, indeed, they ever existed, all trace of them has been irretrievably lost.

The original contract of their purchase, by the Municipality of Gubbio, from Paolo di Gregorio, their discoverer, in 1444, still exists in the Archives, and gives the receipt for seven Tables only. This would seem to be conclusive evidence of the non-existence of the other two, but M. Bréal remarks

¹ *Les Tables Eugubines*, par Michel Bréal.

that this fact does not exclude the possibility that two others may have been possessed by some different person, from the time of their discovery, whose interest it may have been to send them to Venice in the hope of their possible interpretation, Venice being, at that period, an important centre for all nationalities.

Passeri, an Italian writer who occupied himself much with the study of these Tables, and who wrote between 1694 and 1780, inclines to think that Concioli may have become possessed of inexact information concerning them, since he spent most of his life away from Gubbio, and only mentions the Tables incidentally in his work, without having made them objects of special study.

Huschke and Conestabile have expressed an equal doubt as to the reliability of Concioli's hypothesis ; nevertheless, M. Bréal considers that these savants decide arbitrarily against Concioli, who, in 1673, affirms the existence of nine Tables, in a manner so precise, that it does not give the idea of an invented fiction. He believes that it would be of immense profit if the Italian Government would cause a search to be made for the missing two. "Who knows," says he, "but they may be hidden away in some Venetian palace, or even on the main land."

Concioli does not appear to have been cognisant of the existence of the contract preserved amongst the Archives.

It is not the place in a small volume of the nature of the present modest guide to transcribe the original Latin documents ; the curious in such matters will find them in Professor Bréal's exhaustive work, in which he also gives at full length the text of the

inscription in the Umbrian language, side by side with the probable translation into Latin. We can only hint at the evidence, but I may here insert a letter, published for the first time, I believe, by Lucarelli, as a further word on the other side. He thus writes :—

“Although in the original contract of sale, several times published, seven Tables only are mentioned, various writers have fallen into the error of believing that they were originally nine in number, and that two were subtracted and carried to Venice in 1540. The origin of this fable, due to Leandro Alberti, was accepted in good faith by Dempster and Concioli, and also the illustrious Bréal has thought well to repeat it in 1875, inviting besides the Italian Government to make research and bring to light the lost Tables. In order, therefore, to correct this erroneous belief, repeated by many other writers after Bréal, we are desirous of transcribing here an unpublished letter of the Abbot G. B. Recanati, addressed in the month of May 1729 to Count Pietro Gabrielli, of Gubbio, who had requested him to cause search to be made for the Tables in Venice, which were held by every one at that time, in all good faith, to exist in some museum of that city.”

“To COUNT PIETRO GABRIELLI, GUBBIO.

“Many a time has the above request been made to me (G. B. Recanati); even when I went to Gubbio to see the Tables I was requested to make a search for the same at Venice. The fact is, that *in spite of the most diligent search, I can find no trace of them whatever*, although in the edition of Dempster, recently published at Florence, one reads openly in

the index that which is referred to above. On this point I have for several days already had discussions in the library with various English people, with Signor Apostolo Zeno and many others, but no one is able to affirm anything with certainty ;—neither has any Table whatever been discovered in the Sala dell' Armi of the Ducal Palace, although the utmost diligence has been employed."

As mentioned in a previous chapter, the Tables are preserved in the Sala della Giunta of the Palazzo del Pretorio, and are hung in reversible frames, as they bear inscriptions on both sides of the metal. They consist of seven plates of purified bronze, of unequal size, measuring about 50 centimetres by 30.

I cannot do better than follow Bréal in his description and interpretation of them ; the following quotations from his interesting work will give the uninitiated some idea of their contents and of their bearing on the customs and religious ceremonies of the ancient city of Iguvium. He thus describes them :—

"They are plaques of bronze of unequal size, measuring about 50 centimetres in length and 30 in width. Five of them (those numbered at present I. to V.) are in Etruscan (or Umbrian) character, two (VI.—VII.) are in Latin writing of the finest period, but in a language that is not Latin. There is, however, besides an inscription in Latin (that which is often called the *Claverniur* inscription, from the word with which it commences), which has been added on a blank space that remained on the obverse side of Table V. The Tables are in a most perfect state of preservation.

All except III. and IV. bear inscriptions both on the front and on the back."

If the nine Tables did really exist, Bréal thinks it possible that the two that are missing may have formed the continuation or supplement of Tables Vb. and IIa., which appear to be incomplete. "Since the Eugubine Tables form up to a certain point a complete sequence, and since III. and IV., VI. and VII. are consecutive, and since I. treats of the same subject as VI.-VII., Professors Aufrecht and Kirschhoff have supposed that perhaps the two lost Tables contained precisely the absent portions."

To return to the description of their contents.

"These Tables," says Bréal, "contain the acts of a corporation of priests, whose authority would appear to have extended for some considerable distance in the vicinity. They were called the Attidian brothers (*Frater Attiediur*), and the name of the confraternity is given to the college (*fratre-cate*). They were twelve in number: different names of magistrature are mentioned, such as Questor (*Kvestur*) and fratreks. The personage who takes the prominent lead has the title of adfertur."

The idea was put forth by Passeri and Huschke that this corporation belonged to the Temple of Jupiter Apenninus, of which the ruins exist near Scheggia, whose oracles were famous, and to which the neighbouring, and even distant, peoples had frequent recourse (*sortes Apenninæ*); but Bréal declares that there is no evidence in the Tables to confirm such a supposition.

"Jupiter Apenninus is not once mentioned in the text. When it is remembered on what spot

the tables were discovered, one is compelled to reject this conjecture altogether.

"Iguvium, in ancient times, was a city of great importance, especially at the beginning of the Roman domination. The vicinity of the copper and silver mines, and the nearness of the Flaminian Way, which here crosses the Apennines, uniting the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic seas, rendered the Umbrian city a rich commercial centre. Perhaps it was for this reason that the Iguvians took no part in the insurrection that occurred at the beginning of the year 307 (of the Roman era), the epoch at which all the peoples of Umbria had to submit to Rome, but remained always faithful allies of the conqueror.

"On the site of ancient Iguvium medals and statues have also been found, besides the remains of a colossal theatre which is anterior to the time of Augustus; also a mausoleum, baths, and the ruins of various temples dedicated to Janus, Apollo, Diana, Vesta, and Pallas. It must have been in some sanctuary within the city, perhaps upon the hill so often alluded to under the designation *Ocris Fisius*, that the Attidian corporation had its domicile.

"As for the name *Attidian*, Lanzi had already compared it with that of the Attidates, an Umbrian people mentioned by Pliny, and had found a similitude in the name of the modern town of Attigio. It is probable that the city, which in ancient times bore the name of Attidium, was the place whence the corporation originated.

"It does not appear that the Attidian brotherhood was specially dedicated to the service of one sole

divinity ; it is seen that they offered sacrifices to a whole series of gods and goddesses. Thanks to this circumstance, the Eugubine Tables furnish us with precious information on the Pantheon of one of the Italic peoples. Some of the names coincide exactly with the Roman names, such as Jupiter, Sencus, Mars. Others present a resemblance more or less distant, as for instance, Fisis, Grabovius, Cerfius. Others again are entirely unknown, as Volfionus Tefer, Trebus, &c. We have here, therefore, the monuments of an indigenous cult, which the Roman religion had not been able, so far, to efface.

“The text is concerned with various sacred ceremonies, with which the Attidian corporation was entrusted. These Tables, some of which were intended to be attached to the walls of the temple, as we perceive from the holes destined for the nails, and from the blank spaces left, in the text, to affix notices, contain instructions as to the ritual to be observed, or resolutions voted in assembly by the College. Tables VI. and VII., for instance, are occupied with the purification of the Fisian hill and the lustration of the Iguvian people.

“First, the auspices must be taken : the nature and flight of the birds, that shall be considered a favourable omen, are stipulated, beforehand, between the augur and the Adfertur. The hawk and the raven should fly in advance, the woodpecker and the magpie behind. During the inspection of the birds the augur must stand motionless and always turned to one side ; if he made a movement, if he turned, the auspices were null and void. The imaginary enclosure, in the interior of which the

omens should be produced, are traced in the sky : in order to show the augur how to take up his position the corresponding limits are indicated on the earth. We have here, then, a fragment of the topography of Iguvium. The inscriptions, supposing that the omens have been favourable, gives the formula to be pronounced by the augur, after which the purification begins. It consists of a procession round the city and a series of four, or eight, successive sacrifices. The first is offered at the Trebulan gate ; *before* the Trebulan gate they are to sacrifice three oxen to *Dius Grabovius* ; *behind* the Trebulan gate they are to sacrifice three fat sows to *Trebus Jovius*. The second sacrifice is offered at the gate of Tesena. *Before* the gate three oxen are sacrificed to *Mars Grabovius* ; *behind* the gate three young sows to *Fisus Sancius*. The third sacrifice takes place at the gate towards Veies ; they sacrifice three oxen *before* the gate to *Volfionus Grabovius*, and *behind* the gate three sheep to *Tefrus Jovius*. The fourth sacrifice does not take place near a gate, but at two places designated under the names of *Vocu Joviu* and *Vocu corediur* ; it is probable that these may refer to the sacred groves. The first time three young bulls are sacrificed to *Mars Hodius*, and the second time three other bulls to *Hondus Cerfius*.

“For each of these sacrifices the inscription enumerates the additional gifts to be offered to the divinity, and sometimes the detail is given for the rites that should follow. The dual character that Cicero has described in his *Republic* as peculiar to the religion of Rome is also to be found at Iguvium—an extreme simplicity in the offerings, united to

an extremely complicated ritual. Milk, wine, a little incense, different kinds of cakes compose the ordinary fare of the gods : the merit of the sacrifice consists in a strict observance of all the liturgical ceremonies." "If," says Table VI., "anything has been omitted, interposed, if anything has failed, the sacrifice shall be void ; thou must return to the Trebulan gate to inspect the birds and begin over again."

"The prayers, of which some are given *in extenso*, appear to be conceived in the same spirit. They present the same superfluity of words, the same repetitions, the same caution and the same attachment to formulas which Cicero notes amongst the juris-consults of Rome."

The following quotation gives an idea of the form in which the prayer was offered :—

"I have invoked thee, I invoke thee, *Dius Grabovius*, for the Fisian Hill, for the Iguvian people, for the name of the Fisian Hill, for the name of the Iguvian people. Be favourable, be propitious to the Fisian Hill, to the Iguvian people, to the name of the Fisian Hill, to the name of the Iguvian people. Holy One, I have invoked thee, I invoke thee, *Dius Grabovius*. According to thy rite I have invoked thee. I invoke thee, *Dius Grabovius*. I consecrate to thee this *Ambarvale ox*, as expiation for the Fisian hill, for the Iguvian people, for the name of the Fisian Hill, for the name of the Iguvian people. *Dius Grabovius*, be enriched by these gifts. If the fire has been polluted on the Fisian Hill, if any rites have been omitted in the Iguvian city, consider it as if it had not been. If anything has failed in thy sacrifice, has been ill done, transgressed,

neglected, vitiated, if there has been any fault in thy sacrifice, perceived or unperceived, *Dius Grabovius*, in justice receive this *Ambarvalian* ox. *Dius Grabovius*, purify the Fisian Hill, purify the Iguvian people. *Dius Grabovius*, purify the name, the lares, the rites, the men, the flocks, the fields, the fruits of the Fisian Hill, of the Iguvian people. Purify the . . .”

“After this, almost immediately, comes a second ceremony—the lustration of the Iguvian people. The sacrifice is not offered at Iguvium, but at different points within the precincts. The priest, clothed in the *prætecta*, adorned with purple, and accompanied by two acolytes, leads the victims round the territory. Arrived at a certain point he stops and pronounces a sentence of banishment against all strangers, Tadinates, Etruscans, Naricans, Japudicans. For a long time it was supposed to refer to a real sentence of banishment, but a more attentive examination of the text had led us to believe that we are in the presence of a legal fiction, because the means of re-purchasing their rights from exile for a price of money are immediately indicated to these strangers. The lustration at Iguvium, as at Rome, appears to have been the occasion of making or renewing the census of all strangers (foreigners). The procession terminated, the priest pronounces a sort of imprecation against the gods of the other peoples, followed by an invocation of the national gods.”

“Another interesting document is furnished to us by Table II*b*., which gives the list of the peoples who participated every year in the sacrifice of a sow and a goat : among these names are some which

are mentioned by Pliny as belonging to the peoples of Umbria. Each of these tribes appears to have had the right of coming every year to claim a portion of the two victims; in return each paid a contribution of corn to the Attidian corporation. A similar usage existed in Rome and continued down to the time of Augustus; it was called the *visceratio*."

M. Bréal tells us further that other inscriptions reveal certain details of the internal organisation of the confraternity. It does not appear, for instance, that they resided habitually near the temple, but that they assembled on fixed days to perform the necessary functions; to eat together and to examine the administration of the Adfertur. There is evidence that they were not always very exact in the performance of these duties; at least, M. Bréal makes this inference from the insistence with which the inscription twice repeats, "If the majority of the Attidian brothers *who shall have come* is of opinion."

The administration of the affairs of the confraternity seems to have been concentrated in the hands of the Adfertur; to him falls the direction of the sacrifices and lustrations, and it is he who has to furnish the objects required for the ceremonies.

M. Bréal gives a philological explanation of his interpretation of the duties of the Adfertur as furnisher or procurer of the sacrifices, but does not consider that these duties precluded the probability of his having been also invested with a public or sacred character. The Tables in no way refer, as some earlier savants have sought to prove, to the killing of the victim, nor to the mode of dividing or dis-

posing of the flesh, neither are the libations mentioned ; instead, they enumerate the things requisite for the sacrifice, notably, those that should be supplied by the *Adfertur*, and they seem also to have fixed the rate of the tax to be levied from the faithful, after each operation, part of which was to be deposited in the coffers of the community. "One can understand," says M. Bréal, "that notices of this kind were put in writing and posted up in the temple to avoid discussions, and to secure the rights of every one." Minor details could be explained, more readily, by word of mouth.

M. Bréal is of opinion that the period when these Tables were engraved was not a time of great religious fervour, but rather an epoch of decadence, when the ancient cult had descended into the hands of interested persons, who sought to maintain their fiscal rights by means of an elaborate ritual. As to their age, he remarks that certain inductions may be gained from the character in which they are written ; but so little is known of the Tyrrhenian epigraphy up to the present moment, that it would be impossible to fix a really precise date, but he is inclined to consider that the greater part of the inscriptions are copies of more ancient models, and that the date of these copies should be placed between the second century and the end of the first, before the Christian era.

On the question of language, M. Bréal considers these Tables of supreme importance ; they represent almost all that remains to us of one of the most ancient idioms of Italy. They are, besides, a proof that a religious body was able to continue the use of its indigenous language long after the conquest of

Umbria, by Rome. We see, indeed, the gradual tendency towards the introduction of the language of the conquerors in certain words, notably, that of KVESTOR, a name employed with reference to one of the magistrates of the confraternity. The influence of Rome is also revealed by the substitution of the Latin for the Etruscan character, on two of the Tables, although at the same time the language is neither Etruscan nor Latin. Most probably the Umbrians had learnt the art of writing from the Etruscans. It will be remembered that, geographically, Umbria is confined, on one side, by Etruria, and on another by Cis-Alpine Gaul, but the Etruscans were, undoubtedly, far more advanced in the arts of civilisation than the Gauls, and probably a similarity in the nature of the language may have led to the adoption of their form of writing.

M. Bréal sums up the evidence by saying, "What, then, is the language of the Tables?" There does not appear to be any doubt on this subject. It bears a close relationship to Latin, and is one of those idioms which Varro has so happily characterised in saying, "Nonnulla . . . in utraque lingua, habent radices, ut arbores quæ in confinio natæ in utroque agro serpient," (many (words?) have their roots in both languages, as trees growing on a borderland extend their roots into one field and the other).¹

From the point of view of religious interest M. Bréal draws a parallel between the body known under the name of the *Fratres Attidii* at Iguvium and that of the *Fratres Arvales* at Rome. "The cult of the *Fratres Arvales* is of the highest

¹ Varro (*De Lingua Latina*, v. 74).

antiquity ; tradition carries it back to the twelve sons of Acca Larentia, the nurse of Romulus. The college was composed of twelve priests, to whom was given the name of brothers, probably in allusion to this ancient fable. They were vowed to the cult of a goddess, whom we do not find mentioned anywhere else, Dea Dia. In honour of this divinity they celebrated a festival every year in the spring time, which was the occasion of a solemn assemblage."

It appears that, towards the end of the eighteenth century, a happy chance caused the discovery of the site of an ancient temple belonging to the *Fratres Arvales* at a few miles' distance from Rome, together with a number of inscriptions relating to their acts of worship. In the middle of the last century further excavations on the same spot considerably augmented the discovery by bringing to light other inscriptions belonging to the Brotherhood ; but, says M. Bréal, "They are not the *ancient* acts of the *Arvales* which have been preserved to us, but documents posterior to the re-organisation of the college, under Augustus. When we compare these inscriptions with those at Iguvium, we cannot help remarking the most singular coincidences, in spite of the triple difference of language, time and relative importance of the two cities. It is the same cult of rustic gods, the same ceremonies, the same prayers even. So great is the similarity that exists at the foundation of the two rituals, that it does not seem too hazardous to conclude, that we have here a duplicate specimen of the same Italic cult."

"The astounding good fortune that made of Rome the capital of the universe," says M. Bréal,

"extended itself to the college of the Arvales." Amongst its members we find the most illustrious names in Rome. Some of the greatest events in the history of the world are recorded in their Acts. At the feasts, it was the sons of senators who served at the table or who took part in the games and quadriga races, that appear in later times to have been added to the more ancient celebrations of the festival. Considerable offerings in gold and silver poured into the coffers of the community. All this pomp and magnificence belongs inherently to Rome and to Rome alone, and could find no repetition in an obscure city of Umbria, hanging like an eagle's nest on to the grim slopes of the Apennines. But in spite of these contrasts of state and degree, we find so many points of resemblance that we are disposed to conjecture that "The Attidian Brothers may have been at Iguvium the representatives of the *Fratres Arvales* of Rome."

I will conclude with a transcription of part of Table VII., drawn from Mr. Bower's interesting book on the "Festival of the Ceri," elsewhere referred to. The translation is founded on M. Bréal's text, and refers to the lustration of the people, and banishment of all foreigners from the State. There appears to have been a certain significance in the colour of the victims sacrificed, "boars, red or black"; and of the vessels employed at certain points, the words "Thee, with these black vessels," occurs; and again, "Then with white vessels he must pray."

"(Table VIIa., 1.)—They must pray in like manner. In like manner that they go, he must say. Then the attendants must go back by the

same way by which they have come. At Fontuli he must sacrifice three boars, whether red or black. To Cerfus Martius must he sacrifice for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State. He must perform censings (?) with the censer (?). He must sacrifice with sour wine. He must sacrifice corn. He must pray in silence. To the entrails he must add sprinkled spelt-meal, a lump. In like manner must he invoke as at the Trebulan gate. After he has taken auspices Beyond Sata, then he must give pieces (? of food). At Rubinia he must sacrifice three sows, red or black, to Præstita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State. He must sacrifice drink offerings (?). He must sacrifice with sour wine. He must sacrifice corn. In like manner must he invoke, as before the Trebulan gate. He must pray in silence. To the entrails he must add a little heap (of small offering cakes) a lump. After he has with another loaf (?) prayed (?), then with prayer he must make libation *in rusem* (?), to Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State. Then with black vessels *in rusem* thus must he pray : 'Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee, with these black vessels, for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State, for the name of that (people), for the name of that (State). Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, direct by every way harm to the Tadinat State, to the name, to the nobles girt, not girt, to the spearmen, soldiers without spears, of the Tadinat State, of the Tadinat tribe, of the Tuscan, Narican, Japudican name, to the name of them. Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, be of

good will (and) favourable by thine amity to the people of the Iguvine State, to the Iguvine State, to the name of that (people), to the name of that (State), to the nobles girt, not girt, to the spearmen, soldiers without spears, of that (State). Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, keep safe the name, nobles, institutions(?), men, cattle, fields, fruits, of the people of the Iguvine State, of the Iguvine State. Keep safe. Be of good will (and) favourable by thine amity to the people of the Iguvine State, to the Iguvine State, to the name of that (people), to the name of (that State). Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee, with these black vessels, for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State, for the name of that (people), for the name of that (State). Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee have I invoked. After the manner of the favourable Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee have I invoked.' Then with prayer he must speak thus: 'Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee, with these black vessels, thee, with full ones, for the Iguvine people, for the Iguvine State, for the name of that (people), for the name of that (State). Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee have I invoked. After the manner of the favourable Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee have I invoked.' Then he must make libation, he must pour. Then *in rusem*, with prayer, he must make libation to Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State. Then with white vessels he must pray. Upon the black ones must he place (them) cross-wise. Thus must he pray: 'Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee, with these white vessels, for the people of the

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Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State, for the name of that (people), for the name of that (State). Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, advert by every way harm from the people of the Iguvine State, from the Iguvine State, from the nobles girt, not girt, from the spearmen, soldiers without spears, of the people of the Iguvine State, of the Iguvine State, from the name of that (people), from the name of that (State). Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, keep safe the people of the Iguvine State, keep safe the Iguvine State. Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, keep safe the name, nobles, institutions, men, cattle, fields, fruits, of the people of the Iguvine State, of the Iguvine State. Keep safe. Be of good will (and) favourable by thine amity to the people of the Iguvine State, to the Iguvine State, to the name of that (people), to the name of that (State). Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee, with these white vessels, for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State, for the name of that (people), for the name of that (State). Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee have I invoked. After the manner of the favourable Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee have I invoked.' Then with prayer thus must he pray: 'Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee, with these white vessels, thee, with full ones, for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State, for the name of that (people), for the name of that (State). Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee have I invoked. After the manner of the favourable Praestita Cerfia of Cerfus Martius, thee have I invoked.' Then he must make libation, he must pour. Having pressed a cake in a bowl (?) with his knee (?) and spelt-meal

sprinkled, he must sacrifice to Fisovius Sancius for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State. In like manner must he invoke as behind the Tesenac Gate. He must give pieces(?) of the cake. Then he must expiate to purity(?) the cake, sprinkled spelt-meal, bread. He must pour drops upon them. He must go Beyond Sata. After he has returned (from) Beyond Sata, then he must pound. With the (pounded) offerings he must pray. He must move the sacred one-handled bowls. Beyond Sata he must sacrifice three heifer-calves to Tursa Cerfia of Cerfus Martius for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State. He must sacrifice drink-offering. He must sacrifice with sour wine. He must sacrifice corn. He must pray in silence. To the entrails he must add a little heap (of small offering cakes?) a lump. In like manner must he invoke as at the Trebullan gate. After he has offered up (the sacrifice), he must call (to ?) where they have sacrificed the boars, so that he may give pieces (?). After he has given the pieces (?), he must take auspices (?) afresh (?) at Rubinia; let him give pieces (?). Then Beyond Sata he must take auspices (?); let him give pieces (?). Then he must turn again to Rubinia; he must pound; with the pounded (offerings) he must pray, and move the sacred one-handled bowls. Then he must turn round Beyond Sata; he must pound; with the pounded (offerings) he must pray. Then it will have been offered. When for the third time he has encompassed the people, he who has the lustral praetexta, and the two attendants, in the temple of Tursa, must thus pray in silence: 'Tursa Jovia, alarm, make to tremble, —, —, —,

—, —, —, —, —, the Tadinatē State, the Tadinatē tribe, the Tuscan, Narican, Japudican name, the nobles girt, not girt, the spearmen, soldiers without spears, of the Tadinatē state, of the Tadinatē tribe, of the Tuscan, Narican, Japudican name. Tursa Jovia, be of good will (and) favourable by thine amity to the people of the Iguvine State, to the Iguvine State, to the nobles girt, not girt, to the spearmen, soldiers without spears, of that (State), to the name of them, to the name of that (State).’ Thus thrice let him say. Then (he) who has the lustral praetexta, and the attendants, must drive forth the heifers for lustral sacrifice. Below the decurional forum, whoever of the State will, without distinction, let them take them. And as soon as they have caught the three, he must sacrifice them at Aquilonia (?) to Tursa Jovia, for the people of the Iguvine State, for the Iguvine State. In like manner he must invoke as at the Trebulan gate. He must sacrifice corn. He must sacrifice drink-offerings. To the entrails he must add a little heap, a lump. He must pray in silence. He must sacrifice with sour wine.”

Mr. Bower quotes a further passage from Table VII., which is interesting, inasmuch as it mentions the two principal personages, referred to by M. Bréal, as the most important members of the confraternity, the Kvestur and the Adfertur.

“(Table VII*b*. 1.)—Whosoever, at any time, is master to the Attidian brethren, let him bring for (in ?) his Mastership the victims (?) (due ?) of (from ?) the twelve Attidian brethren, which it is the law (should) be exacted for the fraternity, when the heifers ought to be chased, when the Attidian

adfertur has encompassed the people. If he have not brought that as above is written, let the fines for the Master be three hundred asses."

The asse (or as) was a piece of money. Examples of this coin may be seen in the cabinet containing the Eugubine Tables. M. Bréal refers to the custom of making offerings of money at the festivals of Apollo, mentioned by Titus Livius. On this occasion, however, he remarks that it was not a question of an offering, but of a fine that should be demanded, in punishment of neglect, on the part of the Adfertur.

The present, necessarily slight account of these extraordinarily interesting documents cannot pretend to offer more than a hint of their contents. Those who care to penetrate deeper are referred to *Les Tables Eugubines*. The preceding remarks will, at least, serve as an introduction, and may, perhaps, render them more significant to the casual observer than mere tables of bronze.

CHAPTER XII

THE FESTA OF THE CERI

ALMOST every city of Italy has its own peculiar festival. Siena celebrates her Palio twice during the summer, on July 2, and again at the feast of the Assumption, August 15. Florence observes the day of her patron, St. John the Baptist; but there are special features about the Elevation and Procession of the Ceri, at Gubbio, which are so strange and unique, that they render the feast of S. Ubaldo remarkable for observances that bear comparison with no other celebration in Italy, except, perhaps, the Procession of Sta. Rosa at Viterbo, on September 11.

The origin of this custom is extremely uncertain. Some students of folk-lore would trace it back to pagan times, and find a derivation of the word Ceri in the name of the goddess Ceres, but the popular belief is content to go no further than the twelfth century, when, in 1154, encouraged and inspired by its patriotic Bishop, Gubbio gained a notable victory over the combined forces of eleven confederated cities. Mr. Bower, in his extremely interesting book on "The Elevation and Procession of the Ceri at Gubbio," makes a thorough and learned investigation of the subject, and gives us ample material for

belief either in its pagan or Christian origin, which ever may appeal most forcibly to our imagination.

We have the authority of S. Augustine, and of many of the early fathers of the Church, for supposing that numerous Christian festivals were grafted on certain pagan usages, the Lupercalia of Rome, for instance, became the Candlemas of the Catholic Church.

Mr. Bower further gives us much information on Tree Worship, of which the May Pole was a descendant, and he is of opinion that a possible, and even probable, parallel might be traced between that sylvan custom and the bearing of the wooden trophies, or obelisks, known as the Ceri. We must leave the reader who is curious as to the origin of these and kindred abstruse subjects, to read and weigh for himself the evidence so ably and diffusely given in the above-named work, and content ourselves with describing the movements and routine of the actual festival itself, with a recommendation to visit Gubbio on the occasion and witness a sight so unusual, that it cannot fail to interest spectators from more prosaic countries, as a survival, at least, of something very remote, even if its origin be untraceable.

The actual festival of S. Ubaldo occurs on the 16th May, but, in accordance with the ecclesiastical custom that universally prevails in Italy, the Vigil is observed with more solemnity than the day itself. On the 15th May, therefore, the traveller must be no laggard, for the great day is heralded by the roll of the municipal drums at dawn, and the city, usually so quiet and tranquil, awakens to unaccustomed life and movement.

The Ceri are already in the town, having been brought previously from the monastery on Monte Ingino quite privately, and without ceremony, on the first Sunday in May. Each has been deposited in some house, before which its first solemn appearance will be made.

It is no easy task to describe the Ceri, not because their form is complicated, but rather because of the impossibility of finding a resemblance to anything similar, which could give an adequate idea of their singular appearance.

A cero in Italian means a candle, but in the language of Gubbio it denotes something very different. The form suggested to the present writer a couple of lanterns placed one on the top of the other, and did not exclude the idea that they might, once, have been intended to imitate the profusely-decorated bundles of candles, that are carried in many religious processions, as offerings from different Guilds, as, for instance, on the festa of S. Feliciano, at Foligno, on January 23.

The Ceri are three in number, and are dedicated severally to S. Ubaldo, protector of the muratori or masons, to S. George, patron of merchants and traders, and S. Anthony, who favours the contadini or agriculturists, whose images they are destined to carry later in the day. Each pedestal is about twelve to fifteen feet in height, built of wood in the form of a prism, or rather two prisms, eight-sided, and pointed at each extremity, and suggest, as has been already said, two lanterns fitted together. These objects are hollow, and are covered with oiled canvas painted a tawny, yellow colour, adorned

with arabesques and sprays of foliage. Two hand-rails project from the sides, to which are fastened guy ropes to steady them, whilst they are being carried in their impetuous progress through the city and up the mountain. The Ceri are, further, fitted into a strong wooden stand, called the Barella, borne by huge shafts on the shoulders of men called "Ceraïoli," forty in number, who are divided into companies of ten, each under the command of a "Capo Dieci" or Chief of ten, who serve in reliefs, the weight being enormous, and the fatigue of carrying the Ceri at a perpetual run, extreme. It appears to be a point of honour to keep up the pace, somewhat like the trot of the Bersaglieri, only more impetuous. The Ceri are further adorned, all down the trunk, with little tinsel flags, which get sadly damaged before the procession reaches its goal.

From the earliest hours the crowds begin to pour in at every gate, from the country, from the mountains, from the neighbouring towns and villages. All are bent on enjoyment; on every face one sees an unwonted animation, a subdued excitement, which, by and by, defies suppression and transmutes itself into an uproar that finally becomes almost bacchanalian.

Amongst the groups of merry-makers we note the Ceraïoli, conspicuous by their costume, their liveliness, their devil-may-care swagger. Those who can afford it wear white trousers, a white or red shirt, and a long, coloured sash wound several times round the loins. A red beretta, something like a Neapolitan fisherman's cap, jauntily worn, with a tassel hanging nearly to the waist, completes the



costume. They are often accompanied by their wives, sisters, or sweethearts, who carry a plate tied up in a handkerchief, to bring away some of the food from the "Tavole," or banquets, of which they will partake later on. Those Ceraïoli, who are not specially invited as guests, subscribe five lire, and consequently have the right to take home, for the benefit of their families, what they are unable to consume.

During the morning the Ceraïoli parade about the town, busy and untirable, although the exertions of the coming procession would, one would think, have counselled them to harbour all their energies; for the task is herculean, and, but for the copious libations, added to the three plentiful meals, of which they will partake during the day, could not be performed.

"A man does it once, Signorina, but never twice," said a mason to the present writer, who, however, belying his own words, looked vigorous enough to have performed the task easily many times.

Being a Vigil, it should be a fast day; the food is therefore strictly *magro*, that is, abstinence from meat, and at the "Pranzo" or mid-day meal, the Captain of the Ceraïoli is bound to provide a special dish of boiled pease with small cuttle-fish, called *risotto*. This is followed by a succession of courses, consisting mainly of fish in various forms of dressing. The wine is without stint, being furnished in part by the commune and, in part, by subscriptions and presents from private individuals. The Ceraïoli, who will actually carry the Ceri, are free of the tables; the others, who

hold the guy ropes, or are merely aspirants for future occasions, pay.

The "Tavole" are laid out in various private houses. Sometimes those of S. Anthony and S. George combine, and are spread in the great hall of the "Orphanage"; but the principal Tavola of S. Ubaldo, given by the First Captain, or Captain of the Squadron, as he is called, entertains the most distinguished guests. The Bishop is invited and some of the Canons of the Cathedral, also the sindaco and other members of the Municipality, and some of the local nobility, as well as the Ceraiolì. The banquet is for men only, but the guests are waited on by the master and mistress of the house, and by many of their friends of both sexes.

The Bishop says grace and many speeches follow, and there is much applause, especially for S. Ubaldo. The proceedings are conducted with all the etiquette due to the most solemn occasion, possibly out of respect for the invited guests. But at the tables of the other Ceri the festivities are conducted in livelier fashion, and there is plenty of merriment, not to say uproar. Copious are the libations poured out in honour of each saint, and numerous and varied are the toasts, from the Captain to the cook; every one, in fact, who has anything to do with the Ceri, comes in for a share of the universal good nature and exhilaration due to the occasion.

And there is, indeed, ample excuse for these abundant draughts of wine. It requires no little enthusiasm to face the mountain climb, under the ponderous weight of the Ceri. But let it not

be supposed that it is the wine alone that furnishes the strength and power to carry out the task.

To quote Mr. Bower :—

“It is a spirit of a far finer kind that furnishes the vigour necessary for such an arduous task, and in spite of its Bacchic aspect it is capable of no mere toper’s explanation. For the duties of these bearers are discharged with an amazing energy and endurance, which the juice of the grape may indeed stimulate but can never create. Spirit of another kind, enthusiasm of a finer quality, together with much bone and muscle, are needed for the dashing speed and obstinate persistency wherewith those great burdens, the *Ceri*, are moved over the steep streets of Gubbio and the hillside of Ingino.”

The first, early meal is taken without ceremony, and during the morning the *Ceraioli* content themselves with parading about the streets to the admiration of their fellow-townsmen, or in paying separate complimentary visits with the *Cero* to the houses of their special patrons ; but the real festival begins with the “display of the *Ceri*,” at the conclusion of the important banquet at mid-day.

Hardly, indeed, is the dinner ended when the *Ceri* of S. Giorgio first begins to move, borne along at a rapid pace past the windows where the chief “*Pranzo*” is being held. This is the signal for a general movement. The *Ceraioli* of S. Ubaldo rush to the door and haul out the *Cero* from its resting-place, and fit it rapidly into the *Barella* on which it is to be carried, amidst much excitement, with advice and suggestions from all sides. One of the “*Capodieci*,” or chief of ten, mounts the *Barella* and

takes command. He fixes the pointed end of the Cero into the stand, making it secure with great wedges, driven in with the head of an axe. Meanwhile the figure of the saint is affixed to the other end, long cords are fastened to the handles at the upper part, and finally the Cero stands upright and ready for the start.

A curious custom now follows which suggests a remnant of some more ancient usage, though the Ceraïoli give it a more prosaic interpretation. The "Capodieci" takes an earthen vase full of water and pours it over the foot of the Cero and upon the wedges. "Make way," cries the Captain in a stentorian voice, and the crowd hastily separates, as, with a magnificent gesture, he throws the vase to the ground, where it is smashed into a thousand fragments.

This is the signal for the "Elevation of the Cero." In a moment each is raised upon the shoulders of about ten of the Ceraïoli, and towers majestically above the crowd; and, not only the legitimate bearers, but also many enthusiastic persons amongst the throng, lend their aid, catching at the guy-ropes to steady the weight, or "giving a *spallata*," that is, pushing their shoulders against the shoulders of the Ceraïoli by way of support. They do not stop a moment, but dash off, preceded by the hatchet-bearer or "Captain of the Axe," amidst deafening shouts of "Viva S. Ubaldo," echoed far and near by the rabble, whilst flowers are scattered from the windows above.

The Cero makes three turns on its own axis, or "birate," that remind us of the dancing of Jack-in-the-Green," remembered in our childhood,

which, however, would perhaps be almost as strange a ceremony, to the present generation, as the "Elevation of the Ceri" itself! Then starts off afresh along the principal streets of the city, pausing now and again to salute with a Birata the house of some favoured person, who has probably earned this distinction by a gift of wine. The spectators at the windows acknowledge the salute by showering down flowers upon the Cero, which, after a moment, is off again on its mad progress through the town. Each Cero makes its own independent promenade, but finally, they all three take up their position in the Via Savelli della Porta (formerly Via dei Fonti), at the point where it is crossed by the Via Dante, and here they are deposited to await the final, and most important, event of the day.

The ropes are secured to the adjacent window-bars to prevent them from toppling over, and here they are left at the mercy of all the small boys of the town, who climb upon them, touch them, pull the tinsel flags in and out, availing themselves of this unique occasion of enjoying a closer familiarity with the objects of their admiration, and, no doubt, picturing to themselves the time when they too shall become Ceraioli, and feast and join in the procession up the mountain with their fellows.

During the afternoon, the Ceraioli partake of the third meal of the day. This is much more informal than the mid-day feast. Meanwhile, they march about the streets in bands, arm-in-arm, each carrying in his hand the bunch of flowers he has found beside his plate at the banquet, singing and shouting by way of keeping up the general excite-

ment. Some linger in the Corso to gossip with their sweethearts, who are only too delighted to be seen in company with the heroes of the hour.

People stand about all day long, ready to be amused by any passing diversion, and in joy and anticipation of the great event of the day. The Ceraïoli come and go in groups, preceded by their own particular captain, all singing at the top of their voices, in the prevailing Italian fashion of street singers, as if they would burst their throats. All the songs of the Eugubine repertory are called into request. Love songs, political or popular songs, songs of the town or of the country, joyous, melancholy, old or new ; every kind, in fact, even to the hymn of S. Ubaldo :

“Viva Ubaldo d’Iguvio il Pastor
Viva il Cero, vessillo d’onor ;”

or,

“O Lume della fede
Della chiesa il splendor
Sostegno d’ogni cuore
Ubaldo Santo.”

Every verse, no matter of what kind, is followed by a compulsory chorus of “Evviva S. Ubaldo,” “S. Giorgio,” or “S. Antonio.” Evvivas sound on every side, for the Captain of the Axe, the Captain of the Squadron, for Garibaldi, or any other popular patriot. It is sufficient for any one to raise his voice and shout, no matter what, it immediately calls forth a clamorous response.

Meanwhile, the Ceraïoli are in great request, dragged hither and thither, toasted and treated by

all their friends, until they hardly know whether they stand on their heads or their heels. The final meal is at last despatched, consisting, for the most part, of a good plate of soup and many quarts of wine, for the greatest exertion of the day is at hand. The long, steep, zigzag ascent to the convent on Monte Ingino.

Meanwhile, at the Cathedral, high up above the town, vespers are being sung. But for the Bishop and Canons, the church is literally empty. No one is inclined to mount up so far, and thus lose the chance of a good position in the Corso, to witness the passing of the Ceri.

Vespers ended, the ecclesiastical procession issues forth from the Cathedral. It is intended to be solemn, but the Confraternities are wanting, or are represented by but a few old men, too old to join in the impetuous hurly-burly of the progress of the Ceri. The seminarists, however, are in full force. Behind them is carried the Gonfalone¹ of Gubbio, or Standard of S. Ubaldo, painted by the pupils of Perugino, followed by the Canons of the Cathedral, and lastly, by the Bishop, who bears aloft a relic of S. Ubaldo.

The great bell, the beautiful, deep-toned bell of the Palazzo dei Consoli, with its sweet, rich voice, begins to swing, moved by the feet of four stalwart bell-ringers. No sooner do its powerful tones reach the Ceraïoli, than they hurry, full-speed, for the trysting-place. The urchins, who have been

¹ Since 1900 the Gonfalone of S. Ubaldo has no longer been allowed to be carried through the streets, having been injured by the wind. It is now in the Museum of the Palazzo del Municipio.

amusing themselves for hours at the expense of the Ceri, make off at their approach, and keep at a respectful distance lest they reap the well-merited retribution for their want of respect, having, by this time, stripped the Ceri of all their tinsel flags and other adornments.

In a short time all the Ceraïoli have collected, numbering about a hundred and fifty, and, having raised the Ceri, move them to the point at which they will meet the religious procession. This procession, meanwhile, having passed across the piazza of the Signoria, and having descended by the Via dei Consoli into the Giardino Pubblico, is gradually making its way along the Corso in the opposite direction, turning upwards by the statue of S. Ubaldo into the Via Dante, where the encounter and salutation will take place.

Before each Cero stands the Captain of the Axe, and in front of all is stationed the Captain of the Squadron, on whom all depend for the signal of departure. Each Cero is already raised on the shoulders of the Ceraïoli ready for the start.

Meanwhile, down at the descent of the Neri, where the crowd is beginning to manifest its growing impatience, two fresh personages, more comical than dignified, have come upon the scene. One is called "Captain of the Trumpet," that is to say, a trumpeter on horseback, who, with a cornet more or less out of tune, is destined to announce the approach of the Ceri. The other is the Captain of the imaginary Company of Horse, whose duty it is to clear a passage for the procession, which, with drawn sword, he vainly attempts to do, for the

crowd divides for a moment, only to swarm quickly into the middle of the street again.

And where is the religious procession meanwhile ?

Whereas, on ordinary occasions, it would be followed by the populace chanting and praying, to-day it receives but scant attention, for the superior attractions of the Ceri have absorbed all the public interest.

The Bishop passes, bearing aloft the relic, but few remember even to salute it. It is by a miracle if any order is maintained, as the procession makes its way along the Corso. As the members of the different confraternities approach the Ceri, they begin, in haste, to strip off their habits, casting them into baskets placed along the road for the purpose, or even running to deposit them in the sacristy of some little church that may happen to be conveniently near, which done, they are ready to give a *Spallata* to their friends amongst the Ceraioli. Next arrives the Gonfalone, whose bearers turn and make it salute the Ceri. The Ceri respond with equal courtesy. Lastly, come the Canons of the Cathedral, followed by the Bishop, who, prudently withdrawing a little to one side, raises the relic of S. Ubaldo and gives the Benediction.

The sublime moment has arrived !

The Captain of the Squadron gives the long expected signal, and down they tear, helter-skelter, by the steep descent of the Neri. It is a perfect pandemonium. The spectators shout at the tops of their voices and, running at full speed, throw themselves upon the Ceri, everybody lending a helping hand. In a moment they disappear into the Corso.

The Bishop, the Canons, and the Seminarists, who have stopped for a moment to witness the start, gravely turn their steps once more towards the Cathedral, whither they return without meeting a soul, along the deserted streets of the upper town.

Down in the Corso, where the people are still waiting at their windows, and in the sloping side-streets, it is a very different scene. Some of these streets are very steep, and give an excellent opportunity for seeing the procession well. A surging sea of heads is visible, craning hither and thither to catch the earliest glimpse. First comes a motley crowd running in front of the Ceri, next follow the two horsemen, holding on to their steeds valiantly by the mane, whilst the bridle is held by a couple of amateur grooms. After them comes a multitude of people, running as fast as their legs can carry them. And, lastly, the long-expected Ceri burst upon the view in all their bravery, towering majestically some twenty feet above the heads of the spectators, swaying from side to side as they are borne swiftly along, like some huge galleon on the swelling waves.

The Captain gives directions which no one hears or heeds ; the crowd shouts, as all swarm on together in a throng. Now and again a tired Ceraiolo detaches himself from the burden and another takes his place, the Cero totters for a moment and threatens to fall ; but before anything can happen, some benevolent auxiliary flies to the rescue, the Cero is righted, and on they go.

At the foot of the Via Caioli, where it joins the Via Reposati, the first, time-honoured halt is

made, for rest and a draught of much-needed refreshment. After a very short space of time,



STREET NEAR THE VIA REPOSATI

however, they shoulder the Ceri again, make their way past the church of S. Francesco to the Piazza

S. Martino—always at full speed—and, mounting by the Via dei Consoli, reach the Piazza della Signoria, where, once more, they set down the Ceri near the fine old Palazzo dei Consoli. It hardly needs to be said that fresh libations are poured down the throats of the Ceraïoli, who are, by this time, streaming with perspiration, and more than ever need support to enable them to undertake the enormous fatigue of the last ascent.

This is the culminating point of the festival.

The whole city is in motion, flowing like a river to the Piazza della Signoria, which, though very spacious, is far too small to contain the vast multitude who hope to find places there. The windows of the two Municipal Palaces and of the intervening Palazzo Ranghiasi-Brancalone, which overlook the piazza, are filled with faces all eagerly watching for the final display of the Ceri.

From the principal window of the Palazzo del Pretorio the Sindaco waves a handkerchief; then the Captain of the Squadron gives the word or command, the Ceri are raised and are carried three times round the piazza, amidst the deafening shouts of the populace and of the Ceraïoli themselves, whilst the great bell rings out right joyously.

The third circuit ended, the Ceri of S. Ubaldo and S. Giorgio start off in the direction of S. Marziale, whilst S. Anthony makes a little separate tour on his own account, then tears off after the other two. From this point the ascent of Monte Ingino commences. It is less abrupt than the Via Ducale, which leads just by the great door of the Cathedral, and, taking this route, a greater portion of the city is traversed.

At the Porta S. Ubaldo, which protects the city from the mountain side, the Ceri halt again, it being necessary to allow them to pass slowly, one by one, beneath the archway of the gate, for it would be an evil omen if any accident should happen to the statue of the saint. It is needless to say that provision has already been made for this happy moment of repose ; it is, besides, the last opportunity they will have of refreshing their throats, parched with shouting and loss of moisture. But a few moments are allowed for rest, however, and the little casks are soon emptied.

Meanwhile ebb-tide has set in with the crowd in the piazza. Those, who but a few moments previously had climbed up to witness the Display of the Ceri, now descend again towards the church of S. Francesco and the Giardino Pubblico, and other points of vantage, whence the whole ascent of the mountain can be watched, and the progress of the Ceri timed, on their journey towards the monastery above. Some of the more intrepid accompany the procession and, passing out of the gate, pour themselves, by short cuts, all over the mountain side ; whilst others below, stand, watch in hand, counting the minutes and, probably, betting on the pace as the Ceri slowly emerge from the archway, and again take to their Bersagliere trot. At each turn of the zigzag path their weary steps slacken insensibly, but each time they bravely make a fresh spurt and always make good progress.

The way is long and steep, and, on a warm May day, would take the ordinary pedestrian fully three-quarters of an hour to make the ascent, if not longer. But it is evening when the Ceri set out ;

and, after no more than a quarter of an hour or twenty minutes, these valiant sons of S. Ubaldo set down their burdens at the door of the Convent, on the summit of the mountain.

The first Cero mounts the steps that lead into the cloister, and, having entered, the great door is immediately closed and barred against the eager intruders, leaving the other two outside. The Cero of S. Ubaldo makes the tour of the cloister, and his figure of the saint is then detached from his pedestal and carried into the church. This done, the other two are admitted, and go through the same ceremony, each in its order, and the Ceri are then deposited in their resting-place, to remain until the festa of S. Ubaldo the following year.

The end is not yet, however; several little ceremonies and formalities have yet to be gone through.

The Ceraïoli enter the church and assist at a semi-private function, held specially for their benefit. No doubt, they are well content that their labours and fatigues are once more at an end.

Finally, the three saints are carried down on a sort of litter, borne on the shoulders of the Ceraïoli, accompanied by torch-bearers, to be deposited in the church of the Muratori, their abiding place during the rest of the year. As they wend their way, slowly and seriously, down the mountain side—no longer at a run—they chant the hymn of S. Ubaldo.

“ O lume della fede
Della chiesa il splendor
Il sostegno di ogni cuore
S. Ubaldo.”

Their voices, heard through the twilight, sound rich and sweet and solemn.

Finally, the procession arrives, still singing, before the door of S. Francesco della Pace, and having been received by the chaplain of the Guild of Masons, assist at Benediction. After singing once more the hymn of S. Ubaldo, they disperse without further ceremony, tired out, but well content with the long, busy, happy, riotous day.

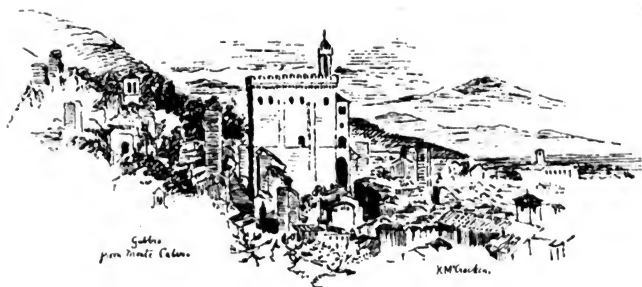
But few of the Ceraïoli join in this last little ceremony; only those, indeed, who are required to convey the saints to their resting-place. The others have either retired to their homes, or are hanging about the street corners, discussing the events of the day, or making prognostications for the coming year.

It may be mentioned that the Captains for the following year have already been chosen, by lot, after the celebration of an early mass in the church of the Muratori. They are chosen exclusively from the Guild of Masons, being under the special patronage of S. Ubaldo. For this reason they always take the lead in the celebration of the festival, and carry the Cero of their patron saint.

After seeing the festival, the visitor may draw his own conclusions as to the derivation of its various and singular ceremonies. The Eugubini cling to their early victory. So be it! We also delight in the reflection, that they are but a constant record of the love and veneration that Gubbio owes to her devoted fellow-townsmen, for we read that, so vivid was the impression left by the holy life of S. Ubaldo that, rather than mourn his death with tears of sorrow, they commemorated his trans-

lation with celebrations of joy, and that, during an entire year, pilgrimages were continuously made to his shrine with lighted candles and songs of praise.¹ The festival may have degenerated, as is the tendency with most human affairs, but the spirit is the same. Let us join, therefore, from our hearts in the cry of "Evviva S. Ubaldo."

¹ See chapter on Life of S. Ubaldo, p. 237.



GUBBIO FROM MONTE CALVO

CHAPTER XIII

THE LEGEND OF S. FRANCIS AND THE WOLF, AND THE CLOTHING OF S. FRANCIS BY SPADALUNGA

STARTING from the centre of the town, at the base of the Palazzo dei Consoli, and turning to the right, the street becomes the Via Savelli della Porta, so named from the palazzo of the Conte della Porta at the right-hand corner, immediately at the top of the ascent of the Via Paoli, notable for its fine Renaissance decorations.

We find ourselves in front of a little church which, at first sight, appears almost insignificant, "S. Francesco della Pace," called also the church of the Muratori, or Guild of Masons. It is, however, extremely interesting from the witness it bears to the truth of the legend of S. Francis and the Wolf, related in the twenty-first chapter of the Fioretti. It was erected in 1503, and was commonly called "Mors Lupi." Tradition affirms, that it occupies the exact site of the grotto where the wolf dwelt after its conversion. The church bears on its façade a stone on which we read the following early Italian inscription cut in quaint lettering :—



STONE COMMEMORATING THE LEGEND OF
S. FRANCIS AND THE WOLF

(In the Church of S. Francesco della Pace)

To face p. 283.

“SENDO S. FRANCESCO CON LA S + HUMILIATA FUOR DI GUBBIO QUELLA LUPA CHE HO MINE ET BESTIE DIVORAVA CON STUPOR DEL PO PULO LA MENO QUA ET SULLA PRESENTE PIETR PREDICANDO SI FECE DAR LA FEDE CON LA ZÀPA DI NON FAR PIÙ DANNO ALCUNO CON PATTO D'ESSER DALLA CITTA NUTRITA SI CHE ET TUTT POI OBIDIENTE NELLA VICINA GROTTA ABITAVA.”

The stone to which these lines refer is that on which S. Francis stood to preach after subduing the wolf. It is preserved inside the church, set into the wall, but the inscription was placed outside, the better to be seen by those who pass that way, that so the miracle wrought by the Seraphic Saint may be remembered for all time.

Under this stone is also set a small pillar, sculptured with arabesques and foliage, with the figure of a wolf at the foot, very time-worn but still discernible. It formerly stood over the grave of the wolf at the corner of a small street, now called the Via del Globo, a few steps farther on. After the removal of this stone, unfortunately, no record was affixed to mark the spot, but it is not difficult to discover, as a small shrine exists close to the archway, where a flight of steps leads to the Via del Globo.

Not many years ago, whilst making some alterations in the street, the skull of a wolf was found precisely on the spot pointed out by tradition as the burial-place of the beast; all the teeth were still firmly set in its powerful jaws. It was seen and verified by many, amongst others by a Canon of the Cathedral, who related the fact to the pre-

sent writer. During his absence from Gubbio for a few days, the workman, heedless of the legend, disposed of the skull for a few lire; it is now in the possession of a gentleman at Scheggia. It should have been honourably preserved, either in the church or the museum, as a testimony to the indubitable truth of the tradition, and to the superhuman power of love towards every living creature that enabled the holy S. Francis, gentle yet fearless, to subdue the fiercest enemy of mankind amongst wild beasts. The encounter took place outside the walls, as the stone relates. The small church of S. Vittorino, beyond the Porta S. Pietro, commemorates the event.

Can we not picture the meeting? S. Francis going out courageously to meet the savage beast; the people following, tremulously, at a distance, watching his advance from the city gate, whilst they gazed after him, full of dread and horror, expecting every moment to see him devoured.

Oh, wondrous testimony to the power of love! The fierce creature approached, ramping along to tear him with its cruel jaws—and, behold, a miracle! S. Francis makes the sign of the cross and cries out, "Brother, in the name of Christ."

"The terrible wolf shut his jaws and stayed his running." I cannot do better than quote the description from the Fioretti.

"Of the most holy miracle that Saint Francis wrought when he converted the fierce wolf of Agobio.

"What time Saint Francis abode in the city of Agobio, there appeared in the country of Agobio an exceeding great wolf, terrible and fierce, the

which not only devoured animals, but also men, in so much that all the city folk stood in great fear, sith oft times he came near to the city, and all men when they went out arrayed them in arms as it were for the battle, and yet withal they might not avail to defend them against him whensoever any chanced on him alone ; for fear of this wolf they were come to such a pass that none durst go forth of that place. For the which matter, Saint Francis having compassion on the people of that land, wished to go forth unto that wolf, albeit the townsfolk all gave counsel against it ; and making the sign of the most holy cross he went forth from that place with his companions, putting all his trust in God. And the others, misdoubting to go further, Saint Francis took the road to the place where the wolf lay. And lo ! in the sight of many of the townsfolk that had come out to see this miracle, the said wolf made at Saint Francis with open mouth ; and coming up to him, Saint Francis made over him the sign of the most holy cross, and called to him, and bespake him thus : ‘Come hither, brother wolf, I command thee in the name of Christ that thou do no harm, nor to me, nor to any one.’ O wondrous thing ! When as Saint Francis had made the sign of the cross, right so the terrible wolf shut his jaws and stayed his running ; and when he was bid, came gently as a lamb and lay him down at the feet of Saint Francis. Thereat Saint Francis thus bespake him : ‘Brother wolf, much harm hast thou wrought in these parts and done grievous ill, spoiling and slaying the creatures of God without his leave ; and not alone hast thou slain and devoured the brute beasts, but hast dared to

slay men, made in the image of God ; for the which cause thou art deserving of the gibbet as a thief and a most base murderer ; and all men cry out and murmur against thee, and all this land is thine enemy. But I would fain, brother wolf, make peace between thee and these ; so that thou mayest no more offend them, and they may forgive thee all thy past offences, and nor men nor dogs pursue thee any more.' At these words the wolf with movements of body, tail, and eyes, and by the bending of his head, gave sign of his assent to what Saint Francis said, and of his will to abide thereby. Thus spake Saint Francis again : ' Brother wolf, sith it pleaseth thee to make and hold this peace, I promise thee that I will see to it that the folk of this place give thee food alway so long as thou shalt live, so that thou suffer not hunger any more ; for that I wot well that through hunger hast thou wrought all this ill. But sith I win for thee this grace, I will, brother wolf, that thou promise me to do none hurt to any more, be he man or beast ; dost promise me this ? ' And the wolf gave clear token by the bowing of his head that he promised. Then quoth Saint Francis : ' Brother wolf, I will that thou plight me troth for this promise, that I may trust thee full well.' And Saint Francis stretching forth his hand to take pledge of his troth, the wolf lifted up his right paw before him and laid it gently on the hand of Saint Francis, giving thereby such sign of good faith as he was able. Then quoth Saint Francis : ' Brother wolf, I bid thee in the name of Jesus Christ come now with me, nothing doubting, and let us go stablish this peace in God's name.' And the wolf obedient

set forth with him, in fashion as a gentle lamb ; whereat the townsfolk made mighty marvel, beholding. And straightway the bruit of it was spread through all the city, so that all the people, menfolk and womenfolk, great and small, young and old, gat them to the market-place for to see the wolf with Saint Francis. And the people being gathered all together, Saint Francis rose up to preach, avising them among other matters how for their sins God suffered such things to be, and pestilences also ; and how far more parlous is the flame of hell, the which must vex the damned eternally, than is the fury of the wolf that can but slay the body ; how much then should men fear the jaws of hell, when such a multitude stands sore adread of the jaws of one so small a beast ? ‘ Then turn thee, beloved, unto God, and work out a fit repentance for your sins ; and God will set you free from the wolf in this present time, and in time to come from out the fires of hell.’ And done the preaching, Saint Francis said : ‘ Give ear, my brothers : brother wolf, who standeth here before ye, hath promised me and plighted troth to make his peace with you, and to offend no more in anything ; and do ye promise him to give him every day whate’er he needs ; and I am his surety unto you that he will keep this pact of peace right steadfastly.’ Then promised all the folk with one accord to give him food abidingly. Then quoth Saint Francis to the wolf before them all : ‘ And thou, brother wolf, dost thou make promise to keep firm this pact of peace, that thou offend not man nor beast nor any creature ?’ And the wolf knelt him down and bowed his head ; and

with gentle movements of his body, tail, and eyes, gave sign as best he could that he would keep their pact entire. Quoth Saint Francis : ' Brother wolf, I wish that as thou hast pledged me thy faith to this promise without the gate, even so shouldest thou pledge me thy faith to thy promise before all the people, and that thou play me not false for my promise, and the surety that I have given for thee.' Then the wolf, lifting up his right paw, laid it in the hand of Saint Francis. Therewith, this act, and the others set forth above, wrought such great joy and marvel in all the people, both through devotion to the Saint, and through the newness of the miracle, and through the peace with the wolf, that all began to lift up their voices unto heaven praising and blessing God, that had sent Saint Francis unto them, who by his merits had set them free from the jaws of the cruel beast. And thereafter this same wolf lived two years in Agobio ; and went like a tame beast in and out the houses, from door to door, without doing hurt to any or any doing hurt to him, and was courteously nourished by the people ; and as he passed thuswise through the country and the houses, never did any dog bark behind him. At length, after a two years' space, brother wolf died of old age, whereat the townsfolk sorely grieved, sith marking him pass so gently through the city, they minded them the better of the virtue and the sanctity of Saint Francis."

In memory of this event, the earliest convent of the Franciscan order was founded on the spot where the encounter took place, by a small community of brethren to whom Bishop Villano gave the church

of Sta. Maria della Vittoria, commonly called La Vittorina, in commemoration of a notable victory obtained here by the Eugubini, A.D. 853.

Berni relates that S. Francis, being still alive, to him was given the place called "La Vittorina," and that a certain frate, Pietro of Agobbio, and a frate, Pietro da Gualdo—"and not of Assisi as some say, who was afterwards called Sancto Piero"—came and resided here.

The Franciscans, however, occupied the convent but a short time, and were replaced by nuns of the same order on the 3rd February, 1267. A document still exists referring to the Abbess of La Vittorina, who, with nine sisters, took possession that same year. All traces of the Convent have vanished; the church stands alone, and its sole interest lies in the fact that it commemorates this notable miracle.

On the left-hand side of the altar a poor fresco represents S. Francis, receiving into his hand the paw of the wolf, with the inscription—

"Nel 1220 qui S. Francesco placò La Perniciosa Lupa."

The other frescoes round the walls belong to the sixteenth century; they illustrate some of the miracles performed elsewhere by S. Francis.

The easiest way to find this church is to leave the city by the Porta Romana, and to turn immediately to the right. Following this path across the main road, and continuing down a country lane, across the railway line, a few steps will lead directly to the church. A poor contadina, who lives in the adjacent house, keeps the keys and will gladly open the door for a few pence.

The church of the Muratori formerly preserved a further confirmation of the legend, in the shape of an inscription, on wood, also referring to the stone on which S. Francis stood to preach, dating, however, from two centuries later. The following are the words :—

“The Seraphic Father S. Francis preached upon this stone to the people of Gubbio, having, by virtue of the Holy Cross, tamed the wolf that devoured persons and beasts without any one being able to prevent her. That wolf lived two years, and dying, to the great sorrow of all the citizens, who, seeing her, increased in fervour towards God by remembering the great miracle and benefit that he had done for them by means of his servant the most holy S. Francis.”

In the Libri delle Riforme it is noted that, in the year 1349, it was instituted that one of the standards to be carried in the quarter of S. Andrea should bear the sign of a wolf's head with the inscription “MORS LUPI.”

At the present day, when so many persons appear to find a difficulty in crediting such a miracle, the idea has been put forth that the wolf of the legend impersonates a woman of evil fame. To this I would reply, in the words of a writer of the beginning of last century¹—

“Away with such a notion. Is it credible that a woman even of bad repute could tear in pieces and devour men and *beasts*, and so hold in terror a whole population so that they could not issue from their houses except well armed or in large companies?”

¹ Padre Bartolomasi.

"Why not take things in their natural sense," he cries, "when there are so many unquestionable proofs in favour of it? Is there not the tradition, held so dear and jealously in Gubbio? Are there not also representations in painting and plastic art? Does it not occur in the Fioretti, written quite near the time of S. Francis? Eh! Via."

Eh! Via! indeed echoes the present writer, who finds it far preferable to accept the story in its simplicity. Did not S. Francis preach to the birds, and did they not flock to the sound of his voice? The attractive power of an innocent nature, and of a heart overflowing with love, has often been extolled in romance and why not in reality?

The author has herself seen a robin feed out of the hand of a little child. Has not Hawthorne also represented the same idea in his "Donatello," as long as the soul of the youth was free from stain? When the world was younger and conditions less complicated, human beings were perhaps more in touch with nature, the communion closer; we know that S. Francis loved solitude, where he might be at one with her, in intimate fellowship and intercourse.

Even a serpent is subject to the eye that fears not, and why not a wolf, the most cowardly, if also the most cruel and relentless of beasts? And we read that S. Francis did not trust in himself alone, but was likewise armed with superhuman strength which became in him a potent will-power. He did not doubt, but cried out, "Brother wolf, come hither in the name of Christ!"

It has been asked whether the wolf was mascu-

line or feminine. We can give no satisfactory answer to this question. It is true that the inscription over the doorway of S. Francesco della Pace says "Quella lupa," but in the Fioretti S. Francis himself always appeals to him as "Brother Wolf." Various other ancient chroniclers likewise always have it in the masculine gender. It is a matter of so little importance that it is not worth cavilling over.

An immense enthusiasm for S. Francis followed this miracle in Gubbio. "It was impossible," says a Franciscan writer, "to describe the commotion caused by this event. A valorous soldier, laying aside his sword, girded himself with the simple friar's cord, and, casting off his shoes, walked bare-foot in the pathway trodden by S. Francis."

But this was not by any means the first visit that S. Francesco paid to Gubbio.

On a day in the bleak, spring weather of the month of March, 1206 or 1207, after the decisive scene with his father, Pietro Bernardone, when he renounced for ever his earthly parentage, he was taking his way up the slopes of Monte Subasio, blithely singing his little French song, "I am the Herald of the King,"¹ whilst the bitter winds blew through the old cloak given him by the Bishop's gardener, that was his only covering, save his shirt, when he had the unlucky chance to meet a band of robbers, in the forest that, at that time, densely clothed the mountain side.

"Who art thou?" they cried to him, marvelling at his simple gaiety.

¹ "Life of S. Francesco di Assisi," by Mons. Paul Sabatier.

"I am the Herald of the King, and what is it to you!" There was a provoking spice of the former Francesco Bernardone in this reply.

"Hold!" they cried; "here is your place, poor Herald of God." And so saying, they threw him into a ditch where still lurked a mass of belated snow, having first despoiled him of his cloak.

In no way daunted, Francis pulled himself out of the ditch, and, shaking the snow from the miserable shirt that so inadequately sheltered his poor limbs from the icy blast—Ah! how it sweeps down sometimes from off the snowy top of Monte Subasio!—lifted up his voice in song again, welcoming these sufferings for the love of Christ, glad that he should be thought worthy to tread, ever so lightly, in the footsteps led by his Master. But whither should he direct his steps? There was a monastery not far distant. "But," says M. Sabatier, "the advent of an unknown stranger in the midst of that solitude was a disquieting event."

The monks, however, admitted him and allowed him to occupy himself in the kitchen, but gave him nothing wherewith to cover himself, and scarcely anything to eat. It was useless to remain longer here; he therefore set out for Gubbio, where he knew that he would meet with friends. And a long weary journey he must have found it, but for the inward joy that filled his soul. He travelled light of heart, for he had thrown off the burden of the world; henceforth he owed allegiance to none save God.

He must have crossed the Tescio and passed up hill and down dale, many a long mile, to Valfabbrica, and so onward towards Gubbio. It now takes a good horse six hours, and more, to compass the journey along the same road.

The Franciscan chronicles affirm that he passed by Caprignone, a monastery that existed in the Eugubine territory, but some miles distant from the city. The church long contained a fifteenth century fresco of S. Francis, trying to cover his nudity with a few rags. Here, later, a little convent was occupied by the Frati Minori, which, however, was suppressed in 1653. The same chronicles relate that he halted at the Benedictine monastery of S. Verecondo, where, on other occasions, he was wont to lodge. It was here that he reprimanded a sow with such severity, for devouring a lamb, that three days later she wasted away and died.

We may imagine him then stopping a night here and a night there, arriving at length at Gubbio, where lived his friend Giacomello Spada or Spadalunga—significant name! M. Sabatier is of opinion that this may, possibly, have been one of the friends with whom Francis set out on the expedition to Spoleto. According to Armanni, the Spada family was one of the most ancient and honourable of Gubbio; more than one ramification still exists among the nobility of Rome and Bologna. The Eugubine branch became extinct about 1626.

In the time of S. Francis the family was represented by three brothers, Giacomello, Federico,

and Antonio, who appear to have been engaged in the lucrative industry of the cloth manufacture; tradition points to the church of S. Francesco as the site of their business premises, also of their house and garden.

The clothing of S. Francis has been attributed variously to Giacomello, to Federico, and to all three. Of Giacomello it is written, "Who in his house in 1206 welcomed and re-clothed the Frate Francesco of Assisi, the Seraphic Saint."

A parchment exists amongst the archives of the Cathedral, dated February 10, 1399, in which the initial letter depicts a gentleman in the act of bestowing a mantle on a poor man, whose head is shaved with the monastic tonsure. In this same document, the Superior of the Seraphic Convent of Gubbio recommends to all the convents of Gubbio a certain Filippo, Canon of Gubbio, who, with his brethren, is about to undertake a pilgrimage in fulfilment of a vow of Federico Spadalunga.

Be that as it may, it is an undoubted fact that from this time forward the entire Spadalunga family entertained a special devotion towards S. Francis, and, subsequently, adopted him as their celestial protector, dedicating a portion of their property for the building of a church and monastery, to be called after his name.

A fresco, in chiaroscuro, formerly existed in the second cloister of the monastery of S. Francesco—now the barracks of the Carabinieri—in which Giacomello Spada was depicted in the charitable act of clothing S. Francis of Assisi. The back-

ground represents a landscape with a house in front, and, in the distance, the city of Gubbio. The sixteenth century fresco of Felice Damiano, in the Palazzo dei Consoli, repeats this incident in the two small groups below the scene of the compact with the wolf. In that to the right, a poor half-nude beggar is receiving from a merchant a mantle, which he is about to put on. The Franciscan chroniclers relate that he wore this old cloak for two years, "girding himself with a cord of discipline" after the manner of a hermit, carrying always, in his hand, a stout stick. Doubtless, his humility allowed him to accept nothing but a worn garment from his friends.

This event happened during the first months of the episcopacy of the Blessed Villano. Piccotti writes: "At that time the Eugubini were saintly governed in spiritual concerns by the Blessed Villano, their Bishop, a man of holy life, who was besides the friend of S. Francis." It would appear, therefore, that these two pure spirits already knew each other, though it is not clear whether they were yet personally acquainted.

"But," cries the old chronicler, "it is not necessary for me to show that Saints can love each other without being known to each other."

Does not this call to mind the visit of King Louis of France to Brother Egidio at Perugia? when: "Straightway with great fervour he left his cell and ran to the door, and without further questioning, albeit they ne'er before had seen each other, kneeling down with great devotion they embraced and kissed each other with such signs of

tender love as though for a long time they had been close familiar friends ; but for all that, they spoke not, nor the one nor the other, but continued in this embrace, with these signs of love and tenderness, in silence.”¹

But, having met, we cannot help sympathising with the brothers, who would that he had spoken with the King instead of letting him depart without a word. Here is his answer :—

“Dear brothers, marvel not thereat, for neither I to him nor he to me could speak a word ; sith so soon as we embraced each other the light of heavenly wisdom revealed and showed to me his heart, and mine to him ; and thus through divine workings, each looking on the other’s heart, he knew what I would say to him and he to me far better than if we had spoken with our mouths, and with more consolation than if we had sought to show forth in words the feelings of our hearts. Through the weakness of human speech, that cannot express clearly the secret mysteries of God, it would have left us all disconsolate rather than consoled ; wherefore, know ye that the King departed from me with marvellous content and consolation in his soul.”

It is possible that S. Francis may have met Bishop Villano on one of his visits to Assisi. Anyway, their friendship was daily strengthened, and “great were the advantages of this saintly familiarity ; they mutually increased in the fervour and the love of God and towards their neighbours, and the Blessed Villano gave S. Francis ample

¹ Fioretti, chap. xxxiv.

faculties for preaching and instructing the citizens his flock."

Bishop Villano was among the first to publish the *Perdono* of the Porziuncula and to make a pilgrimage there himself, to obtain the Indulgence.



FOURTEENTH CENTURY SEAL.



Roman Theatre
Gubbio

XM'C

UMBRO-ROMAN THEATRE.

CHAPTER XIV

THE UMBRO-ROMAN THEATRE—THE MAUSOLEUM—THE BOTTACCIONE—THE AQUEDUCT

WITHOUT doubt, the most interesting monument of Gubbio, from a historical point of view, is the Umbro Roman Theatre, which lies in a vineyard outside the city walls. To find it, we must start from the market-place at the point still called after the gateway that formerly stood there, Porta Trasimeno, and, passing behind the Carabinieri barracks in the old convent of S. Francesco, we must follow the shady avenue, under the walls of the hospital, for two or three hundred yards, till we arrive at a gate with a stone pillar on either side, leading into a vineyard. Turning in here, a few more steps will bring us to the theatre.

It appears to have been the vague custom of eighteenth-century archeologists to apply, loosely, the term Etruscan to every monument or object that baffled research. In regard to the theatre of Gubbio there was, however, great excuse, as, until 1789, very little was excavated; but later investigations have shed more light on the question, and a proof of the highest value was contributed in 1863, by the discovery of the stone referring to the

restoration of the theatre, which we have already seen in the Palazzo dei Consoli.

Umbro-Roman would, therefore, appear to be the correct designation, and according to the most recent opinions the period of its erection may be placed in the last century of the Republic, whilst the restoration, or completion, belongs to the time of Augustus.

The inscription is in Latin, and relates that the theatre was restored by Cneus Satreus Rufus "*in ludos victoriae Cæsaris Augusti*," and records the sums subscribed by each legion. Lucarelli observes that the restorations must have been made during the lifetime of Augustus, otherwise the inscription would run *Divi Augusti* and not *Cæsaris Augusti*.¹ He also seeks to deduct the fact that it was probably constructed about the time of the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey, since Rome, the capital, only built her first great theatre of stone in the time of Pompey, after the war in Asia. Stone, however, being the natural product of the country, would be much more procurable than brick; this fact, therefore, does not appear to us to preclude the possibility of its having been erected at a much earlier date.

The first excavations were initiated by Ranghiasi, a native of Gubbio, who, in 1789, obtained the permission of Pope Pius VI. to make researches. Under his auspices the orchestra, the proscenium, and the colonnade of the permanent stage were unearthed, together with some of the graduated rows for seats. At the same time numbers of

¹ Sarti is of opinion that the theatre was completed by Cn. Sulpicius after the Attic victories of Octavian.

interesting objects were discovered, such as statues, coins, mosaics, and other fragments. These precious relics were unfortunately lost to Gubbio so lately as 1882, on the dispersal of the Ranghiasi collection. The portion, then excavated, appears to have been covered up again, and to have lain dormant until 1862 or 1863, the existence of the theatre remaining more a memory than a fact. At that date the Municipality, with the pecuniary assistance of the Government, instituted fresh excavations, with the result that the important inscription, already mentioned, was brought to light. It would seem that, at a previous period, the fragments of another inscription were found to the north-west of the theatre ; but they have been entirely lost sight of.

But alas ! the sums allowed by Government were insufficient, and the ruins were abandoned to the vandalism of the populace, who carried off the fine blocks of stone for building purposes, and otherwise defaced the structure. At length the municipality appears to have awakened to the reproach merited by such a wanton desecration of their ancient monument, and, in 1878, the theatre was enclosed within a wall.

The whole building has now been excavated, but the wilful demolition of the intervening years has deprived us of much that was interesting. For instance, the columns of the stage, mentioned by Ranghiasi, are absolutely non-existent ; we can only see the form and general arrangement, which is somewhat similar to that of the Etruscan theatre at Fiesoli.

The disposition of the interior is that of the

Roman theatre, comprising two distinct parts, that is, the stage for the actors and the orchestra, and semi-circle of seats for the spectators. The position of the three doors on the stage can be traced, and parts of a pavement of fine mosaic. Part way round the exterior the form of the double row of arches can be seen. The whole circumference measured 112 yards, and is supposed to have been not far inferior to the theatre of Marcellus at Rome ; when we reflect, besides, that it was capable of seating 16,000 persons, it gives an idea of the importance of the city of Ikuvio when the Umbrians still existed as a people, and had not yet been absorbed by Rome.

It is always the tendency of legend to weave a tissue of romance and mystery round the unknown. We know how the strange tale grew up at Assisi of an invisible, underground church, in which the body of S. Francis was supposed to lie concealed and imperishable, before it was actually discovered in the tomb where it still reposes ; and, similarly, a tradition prevailed, at Gubbio, as to the existence of a whole series of underground ways and passages, leading to a splendid palace, in which an Umbrian queen is said to have sought refuge from the destiny predicted for her.

Piccotti, even, produces the testimony of two ancient writers in support of his theory. He relates that Plotinus, who wrote in the time of Alexander the Great, wishing to describe a semi-circle, uses the following expression : "In the similitude of the theatre which Gobio, King of the Umbri, built in the city of Gubbio." He further states that Gabinus Letus mentions it as "a

fine and worthy edifice built of blocks of marble, well finished and proportioned, containing a vast number of galleries raised on many arches, from which a multitude of people could witness the fine spectacles represented on the stage." He also speaks of the "marvellous underground streets covered with precious mosaics, of which vestiges remain, giving to us moderns indubitable proof of the power and skill of the ancient artifices."

All this sounds very exciting, and makes us long for Aladdin's lamp that we may transport ourselves to these enchanted halls. Possibly, the fact that the Eugubine Tables were found near this spot in 1444, gave colour to the idea, and conjured up the majestic Sala Regia. We almost wonder that the Eugubini are content to let these possible treasures lie hidden beneath their cornfields and vineyards, instead of initiating fresh researches which might possibly lead to further, and more interesting, discoveries.

THE MAUSOLEUM

The Mausoleum is not far distant. We must turn back towards the city the way we have come, and take the first road that lies to our right, and go down it for about a couple of hundred yards, till a wayside shrine is reached. Then, take a pathway to the left, and the Mausoleum is to be seen immediately, in a field to the right.

Before turning down the road we shall have passed the site of the ancient Thermæ, or Baths, almost opposite the hospital; nothing, however, remains but a few stones.

No one knows, with certainty, for what silent inhabitant this mysterious tomb was built. Robbed even of its outer coating of well-hewn stone, it is still majestic and pathetic in its solitude. Unlike the Etruscan tombs, the entrance is wholly above-ground, and the stones around the aperture are intact. The internal chamber is in good preservation, as it is protected by an iron grating. Local tradition is ready, as usual, with its apocryphal tale of the queen who prepared this monument for her husband. The old chroniclers would likewise give it to Gentius, King of Illyria, who was taken prisoner by the Prætor, Lucius Anicius, A.D. 586, who was certainly confined in Gubbio. Later historians call it the tomb of Pomponius Grecinus. All these theories are but simple conjecture, there is absolutely no evidence forthcoming, and, if an inscription ever existed, it must have vanished when the Mausoleum was deprived of its exterior walls.

Sarti relates, that probably the Mausoleum was adorned with columns of "Breccia d'Egitto," as several have been found in the neighbourhood, and have been put to different uses in the city. He suggests that possibly they formed an atrium, as in the mausoleum of Hadrian (Castle of S. Angelo, at Rome). He also mentions, that under the cornice that runs round the interior chamber, iron nails are set at regular intervals, from which garlands were probably hung, in honour of the dead.

It stands alone and unheeded ; grass grows upon its summit ; long trails of vine stray over its denuded surface, decking it, each year in spring-time, with their fresh and tender green, as if they would fain shelter its age beneath the covering of youth ;

in autumn clasping it in yet closer embrace, under the warmth of their sun-kissed leaves, with offerings, as upon some huge altar, of their luscious fruits.

Peace be to its forgotten dead !

THE BOTTACCIONE

This little work were incomplete without a mention of the two great engineering achievements of the Middle Ages, the Bottaccione and the Aqueduct.

Their origin has been variously assigned to the twelfth and the fourteenth century. If, as seems probable, they were designed by Gattapone, they may be placed in the middle of the fourteenth century, about the time of the erection of the two municipal palaces.

This seems likely, since by that time the city had reached the apex of her prosperity, and her woollen industry, specially, was in a highly flourishing condition, and demanded a supply of water to turn the mills.

The Bottaccione lies outside the Porta Metauro, about a mile and a half along the road that leads to Scheggia and the Flaminian Way. It is neither more nor less than a reservoir, formed near the source of the Camignano, by uniting the slopes of Monte Ingino with Monte Calvo by a huge wall, or dam, 30 yards wide, thus forming a basin 120 yards long, 75 wide, and 26 in depth, which, when full of water, looks like a miniature lake. The supply is regulated by a door through which the water is allowed to pass at will, for the use of the

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numerous mills which formerly existed in connection with the woollen manufacture.

THE AQUEDUCT¹

Across this wall passes the Aqueduct, to a channel partly excavated in the living rock, and partly built up, along the sides of Monté Ingino. It is said to be of such a size that two men can walk within it upright, side by side, along the whole of its length. Seen from below in this grim mountain pass, we are almost awe-struck at the daring originality of the scheme.

As we start from the city by the Porta Metauro, we trace the progress of this stupendous conduit at a giddy height, far above our heads, now spanning a torrent by a narrow bridge, now winding perilously round the face of a jutting rock, at certain points seeming even to overhang the road, on its course along the face of Monte Ingino.

Nothing can exceed the picturesqueness of this mountain pass ; on the left we have the torrent of the Camignano, and above, the Hermitage of S. Ambrogio, hanging like an eagle's nest above the ravine. Not far off, a little to the left, we may see a few remains of the so-called Cyclopean walls, probably a remnant of the Umbro Pelasgic period.

To gain a completely adequate idea of the mag-

¹ The Aqueduct formerly supplied the Ducal Palace, the Vescovado, and the Palazzo dei Consoli, besides the three public fountains of S. Giuliano, the Fosse, and the Piazza Grande. Also the Officina of the Forni of the Annona Frumentaria.

nitude of this masterpiece of engineering, the aqueduct should be visited from above, a favourite walk of the seminarists and other boys. But a steady head is necessary, and an imagination not easily affected by the loneliness of the spot, nor, perchance, by the melancholy cry of an owlet, wailing like a lost child from amongst the crags, as the path is but a few feet wide, with a sheer descent of many hundred feet to the roadway below, when, to our sight, each object is reduced to the mere semblance of a toy. Strangely clear, however, are the voices that rise to us from the banks of the Camignano, as if there were less limit to sound than sight.

This dizzy pathway is reached through a vineyard just outside the Porta S. Ubaldo, up above the Cathedral. Winding past the ruins of the unfinished medieval fortress, it turns into the ravine above the Porta Metauro at an appalling height. The view is most romantically picturesque; a stern and rugged gorge divides us from the sheer slopes of Monte Calvo, where hangs the Hermitage of S. Ambrogio, stranded, like the Ark on Mount Ararat, in the midst of a desert land, all scored and water-worn by centuries of winter storms. We can discern no herbage, yet we vaguely see a flock of goats, seeking here and there a blade amongst the bare and sterile rocks, guarded by a tiny child, who skips from stone to stone as nimbly as they. The boy's voice reaches us clear as a bell, and we catch the rattle of the pebbles as they slip from beneath his feet and slide down, like a small avalanche, into the stream, long before we have made out to what order of beings this diminutive flock belongs.

Could these rocks speak what tales might they not relate of the Umbrian worshippers who, long ago, trod this same road to the temple of Jupiter Apenninus, near the Flaminian Way. Can we conjure back no vision of the past? Does no echo reach us? Hark! surely we hear the chant of the Attidian Brothers winding along far below.

“O Dius Grabovius we invoke thee! For the Iguvine people; for the Iguvine State. Be propitious, be favourable . . .” Alas! No! The sound dies away, it was but the voice of the wind!

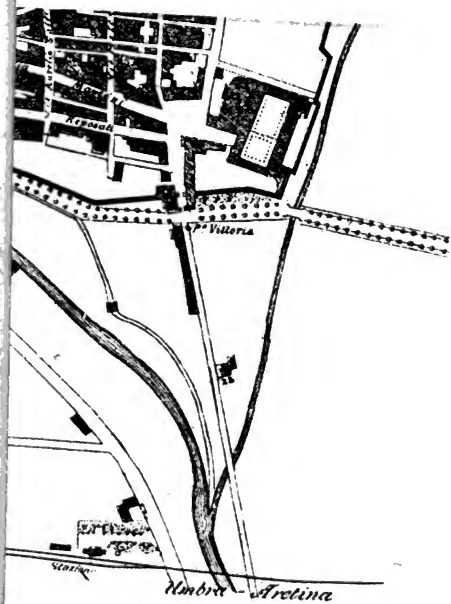


ARMS OF GUBBIO

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 8. Porta di S. Agostino. | 51. Porta di Sta. Lucia. |
| 9. Borgo di S. Agostino. | 52. Borgo di Sta. Lucia. |
| 10. Convento di S. Agostino. | 53. Chiesa di Sta. Lucia |
| 11. Strada che va a S. Girolamo. | Convento delle Suore |
| 12. Acquedotto del Cavarello. | Domenicene. |
| 13. Porta di S. Ubaldo. | 54. S. Benedetto. Suore |
| 14. Strada che conduce alla | Clarisse. |
| Canonica di S. Ubaldo. | 55. Strada che va alla Cano- |
| 15. Rimasuglio dell' antico | nica di S. Secondo. |
| Cassero. | 56. Vestigio dell' antico Te- |
| 16. Acquedotto principale. | atro. Umbro-Romano. |
| 17. Porta Sta. Croce. | 57. Porta Marmorea. |
| 18. Borgo Sta. Croce. | 58. Borgo Marmorea. |
| 19. Spedale de Pellegrini. | 59. Suore Cappucine. |
| 20. Chiesa Sta. Croce. Con- | 60. Porta S. Pietro. |
| fraternità. | 61. Borgo S. Pietro. |
| | 62. Sta. Maria del Gonfalone. |

OLD MAP

- | | |
|-------|--------------------------|
| oli. | 77. Camignano. |
| mbre. | 78. Via Gabrielli. |
| | 79. Via del Capitano del |
| | Popolo. |
| no. | |



INDEX

- ACCOROMBONI, [78](#), [80](#)
 Adalbert, [21](#)
 Adfertur, [247](#), [251](#), [260](#)
 Adrian [I.](#), Pope, [18](#)
 Adrian IV., Pope, [35](#)
 Agabius, [14](#)
 Agnolo di Massolo, [166](#)
 Agobio, Pietro di, [168](#)
 Agobio, The Wolf of, [282-92](#)
 Agostino, S., [150](#), [176](#)
 Agrippa, [12](#)
 Aguto, Monte, [23](#), [27](#)
 Alaric, [15](#)
 Albizzi, Giovanni degli, [78](#)
 Alboin, [17](#)
 Alborno, Cardinal Egidio, [67](#),
 [70](#)
 Aldobrandini, [71](#)
 Alessandria, [43](#)
 Alexander III., Pope, [39](#), [40](#), [42](#),
 [43](#)
 Alexander IV., Pope, [60](#), [61](#),
 [197](#)
 Alexander VI., Pope (Borgia),
 [101](#), [104](#)
 Alfonso, King of Naples, [92](#), [96](#)
 Alidosi, Giovanna di Beltrano de
 Imola, [87](#), [88](#)
 Amanzio, [19](#)
 Amanzio, Pietro d', [21](#)
 Amanzius, [21](#)
 Ambrogio, S., Hermitage of, [4](#),
 [82](#), [218](#), [306](#), [307](#)
 Ambrose, S., [179](#), [180](#), [181](#)
 Amelia, [8](#), [27](#)
 Anastasio, Cardinal, [21](#)
 Ancona, [56](#), [57](#)
 Andreoli, [136](#)
 Andreoli, Pietro, [168](#)
 Angelo, d'Orvieto, [113](#)
 Anicius, L., [12](#)
 Antonio, S., of Padua, [58](#)
 Apollo, [14](#), [246](#)
 Appennina, Via, [209](#)
 Appian, [13](#)
 Aqueduct, The, [67](#), [305](#), [307](#)
 Aquilante, [108](#)
 Aquilante, Via, [186](#)
 Archivio Armanni, [109](#), [124](#),
 [161](#)
 Ardoin, [27](#)
 Arezzo, [52](#), [55](#), [68](#), [71](#), [91](#), [200](#)
 Arezzo, Guido di, [25](#)
 Ariccia, [10](#)
 Armanni, Prudentia, [223](#)
 Armanni, Vincenzo, [124](#)
 Arms of Gubbio, [26](#), [27](#), [308](#)
 Arms of the quarters of the city,
 [38](#)
 Arsenius, [21](#)
 Art, rise of, in Gubbio, [67](#), [160](#)
 Arte di Lana, [41](#), [208](#)
 Arvales, Fratres, [253](#), [254](#), [255](#)
 Asinius Pollio, [12](#), [13](#)
 Assisi, [3](#), [16](#), [38](#), [51](#), [55](#), [67](#), [70](#),
 [81](#), [82](#), [93](#), [120](#), [128](#), [153](#), [199](#),
 [203](#), [233](#), [297](#)
 Astolfo, [18](#)
 Attidian Brothers, [126](#), [246](#), [247](#),
 [308](#)

Attiediur, Frater, [245](#)
 Attidii, [253](#)
 Aufrecht, [245](#)
 Avellana, Fonte, [71](#), [115](#), [116](#),
[121](#), [153](#), [187](#), [232](#), [237](#)
 Avellana, Sta. Croce di, [23](#), [24](#)
 Avignon, [70](#), [71](#)

 BAGLIONI, PIETRO, [105](#)
 Baglioni, The, [102](#), [106](#)
 Baldassini, [37](#), [223](#)
 Baldassini, Via, [112](#), [121](#), [122](#),
[156](#), [157](#), [158](#)
 Baldeschi, Giuliana, [223](#)
 Baldi, Abbate (quoted), [86](#), [91](#),
[100](#)
 Baldi, Domenico di Cecco di,
[193](#), [197](#)
 Baptist, St. John the (relic of),
[18](#), [19](#)
 Barbarossa, Frederick, [28](#), [35](#),
[36](#), [39](#), [42](#), [43](#), [44](#), [45](#), [187](#)
 Barberini, Don Taddeo, [110](#)
 Bargello, The, [54](#), [156](#)
 Bari, Cardinal di, [80](#), [82](#)
 Bartocci, Via Francesco, [112](#)
 Bartolo di Cristoforo, [166](#), [196](#)
 Basili, [185](#), [186](#)
 Battista of Pesaro, [92](#), [94](#), [148](#),
[149](#)
 Becchi, [81](#)
 Bedi, Jacopo di, [167](#), [214](#)
 Belfiore, Galeazzo Malatesta di,
[80](#)
 Belisarius, [16](#)
 Benedetto, Priore, [40](#)
 Benedetto, S. (Convent of), [214](#)
 Benedict, S., [189](#), [190](#)
 Benedict III., Pope, [21](#)
 Benedict XI., Pope, [203](#)
 Benedictine nuns, [209](#)
 Benedictines of Montecassino,
[187](#)
 Beni, Count Guido, [107](#)
 Beni, Giacomo, [109](#)

Beni, Palazzo, [2](#), [158](#), [169](#), [202](#)
 Bentivoglio, [22](#)
 Bentivoglio, Bishop, [46](#), [216](#),
[237](#)
 Benvenuto da Gubbio, Beato,
[216](#)
 Berengarius, [156](#)
 Bernardino, [92](#)
 Bernardone, [292](#), [293](#)
 Berni (quoted), [71](#), [72](#), [80](#), [81](#),
[82](#), [85](#), [90](#)
 Bessarione, Cardinal, [94](#)
 Bettona, [33](#), [52](#), [233](#)
 Bevignate, Frate, [198](#)
 Bianchi, Confraternità dei, [166](#),
[194](#)
 Bianchi, Sta. Maria dei, [216](#)
 Biblioteca Sperlina, [124](#)
 Biscacciante di Bisceribus, [212](#)
 Bobio, [7](#)
 Bohemond and Tancred, [26](#)
 Bolano, [10](#)
 Bologna, [55](#)
 Bónatto, Salinguerra, Bishop,
[39](#), [40](#), [187](#)
 Bonazzi (quoted), [11](#), [13](#), [27](#)
 Boniface VIII., Pope, [76](#)
 Boniface IX., Pope, [79](#)
 Borgia, The, [101](#), [102](#), [104](#)
 Boschetti, Carlo, [107](#)
 Bosone, Raffaele, [24](#), [68](#)
 Bosone, Ungaro, [72](#), [78](#), [81](#)
 Bottaccione, The, [67](#), [154](#), [305](#)
 Braccio, Fortibracci di Montone,
[83](#)
 Branca, della, [20](#), [250](#)
 Branca, Taddeo Corraduccio
 della, [73](#), [78](#), [81](#)
 Brancalone, Gentile, [87](#), [91](#)
 Bréal, Prof. Michél (quoted),
[9](#), [126](#), [241](#), [243](#), [245](#), [251](#),
[252](#), [260](#), [261](#)
 Brizio, Gian Battista, [103](#)
 Brozzi, [191](#)
 Buonconte, [92](#)

- CÆSAR, 12, [116](#)
 Cagli, [17](#), [33](#), [51](#), [55](#), [57](#), [60](#), [65](#),
[77](#), [90](#), [106](#), [166](#), [200](#), [233](#)
 Cairoli, Via, [275](#)
 Calixtus II., Pope, [31](#)
 Calvo, Monte, [4](#), [8](#), [34](#), [41](#), [82](#),
[218](#), [305](#), [307](#)
 Camaldolese, [187](#)
 Camerino, [11](#), [92](#), [108](#)
 Camerino, Giacomo da, [120](#)
 Camignano, The, [34](#), [42](#), [200](#),
[206](#), [218](#), [305](#), [306](#), [307](#)
 Campello, Count Solone, [110](#)
 Canetoli, B. Arcangelo, [220](#)
 Canons Regular, [215](#), [219](#)
 Canons Regular, Nuns of
 Order, [208](#)
 Cantelmaggi, Girolamo, [110](#),
[203](#)
 Cantiano, [27](#), [55](#), [58](#), [65](#), [72](#), [78](#),
[80](#)
 Cantù (quoted), [20](#)
 Capitano del Popolo, [61](#), [157](#),
[164](#)
 Capitano del Popolo, Via del,
[157](#)
 Caravantius, [12](#)
 Carlo da Dovadula, Count, [70](#)
 Carlo di Durazzo, Count, [71](#)
 Carlo III. of Naples, [126](#)
 Carnevali, Agnolo di, [167](#), [188](#)
 Carnevali, Francesco d' Agnolo,
[73](#)
 Carpegna, Cardinal Ulderico,
[142](#)
 Casentino, [91](#)
 Castellans (rebel), [31](#), [50](#), [52](#),
[53](#), [61](#)
 Castello, Porta, [216](#)
 Castiglione, [62](#), [63](#), [64](#)
 Castiglione, Conte, [101](#)
 Cato, [8](#)
 Catria, Monte, [23](#), [27](#), [153](#), [252](#)
 Cavarello, The, [210](#)
 Ceccardi, [77](#)
 Cecco, Domenico di, [167](#), [217](#)
 Celestine II., Pope, [156](#), [207](#)
 Celestine III., Pope, [46](#), [47](#),
[237](#)
 Celestine IV., Pope, [58](#)
 Cerfius, [247](#)
 Cerfius Martius, [256](#), [257](#), [258](#),
[259](#)
 Ceri, Elevation of, [5](#), [33](#), [262](#)–
[81](#)
 Cero, [230](#)
 Charlemagne, [18](#), [19](#), [21](#)
 Charles of Anjou, [64](#)
 Chiara, Sta., [57](#)
 Christian, Archbishop of May-
 ence, [42](#), [43](#)
 "Christian, The Great," [97](#),
[146](#)
 Christianity introduced, [14](#)
 Cicero, [11](#)
 Cimerian Forest, [11](#)
 Città di Castello, [3](#), [33](#), [43](#), [55](#),
[64](#), [70](#), [71](#), [203](#), [233](#)
 Clement III., Pope, [46](#)
 Clement IV., Pope, [66](#)
 Clement IX., Pope, [14](#)
 Cleofe Borromei, Via, [203](#)
 Clustuminian Tribe, [11](#)
 Cneus Satrius Rufus, [13](#), [116](#),
[300](#)
 Coccorano, Conte, [20](#), [49](#)
 Colle, Raffaele del, [189](#)
 Colmolaro, [24](#)
 Colonna, [76](#)
 Comaschi, [35](#)
 Communes of Italy, [28](#), [124](#)
 Concilio, Antonio (quoted), [241](#),
[242](#), [243](#)
 Concilio Lateranese, [52](#)
 Conestabile (quoted), [242](#)
 Conrad the Salian, [27](#)
 Conrad III., [32](#), [59](#), [156](#)
 Conraddin, [59](#)
 Consalvi, Cardinal, [31](#)
 Consiglio di Credenza, [116](#), [117](#)

- Consoli, Palazzo dei, 4, 5, 14, 22,
70, 71, 112, 117, 120, 122, 123,
151, 155, 157, 177, 282, 296
 Consoli, Via dei, 113, 277
 Constance, Peace of, 44
 Constantine, 14, 16
 Constantinople, 43, 90
 Consular System, 28, 29
 Consuls, 20, 28, 35
 Contestabile, Magistrate extra-
 ordinary, 31
 Cornelius, Sisenna L., 13
 Corrado, Duke of Spoleto, 45
 Corte, La, 5, 93, 127
 Cortona, 91
 Corvino, Bishop Marcello, 133,
134, 143
 Costacciaro, 27
 Cristoforo, Bartolo, 166, 196
 Cristoforo, Giannicula di, 205
 Croce, Sta., del Foce, 207
 Croce, Sta., in Avellana, 23, 24
 Crowe and Cavalcaselle (quoted),
136, 162, 163, 173, 186, 205,
217
 Crusades, 26, 56
 Cyclopean Walls, 8, 306
- DAMIANI, FELICE, 120, 168, 200,
204, 296
 Damiani, Pietro, 24, 25, 26
 Damiano, S. (convent of), 57
 Dante Alighieri (quoted), 24,
47, 76, 154, 160
 Dante, Via, 270
 Danti, Giovanni Agnolo, 166,
196
 Dati, Agostino, 85
 Decentius, Bishop, 15
 Decenzio, 31
 Della Rovere, 74, 77, 99, 104
 Della Rovere, Bishop Francesco,
105
 Della Rovere, Francesco Maria L.,
104, 106, 107
- Della Rovere, Francesco Maria
 II., 109, 110
 Della Rovere, Giovanni, 95, 99,
104
 Della Rovere, Pope Julius II.,
104, 105, 152
 Dennistoun (quoted), 77, 87,
91, 95
 Diana (Temple of), 14, 246
 Dionysius, Pope, 14
 Diplomas and privileges, 22, 127
 Disciplinati, 178, 209, 211
 Dius Grabovius, 249, 250
 Domenico, S., 52, 58
 Domenico, S. (church), 203
 Domenico di Cecco, 167, 217
 Donato, S., 20, 39, 40, 217
 Donato (painter), 166, 195
 Doria, Prinivallo, 60, 62
 Dovadola, Conte Carlo da, 70
 Ducal Palace, 93, 134, 145, 150
 Ducale, Via, 130, 133, 145, 277
 Durazzo, Conte Carlo di, 71
- ECCLESIASTICAL STATE, 19
 Elizabetta Gonzaga, 99, 148,
204
 Emanuel, Greek Emperor, 42
 Enzo, King of Sardinia, 58
 Episcopal Chair, 140
 Ercolano, S., 16
 Etruscan, 3, 125, 244
 Etruscans, 7, 10, 11, 250
 Eugenia, Bernardo di Nanni
 dell', 113, 120, 167
 Eugenius IV., Pope, 84, 88, 90,
213
 Eugubine Tables, The, 3, 8, 10,
124, 125, 240-61
 Eugubine art, 161
 Exarch Eleutherius, 17
 Exarch, Greek, 17
- FABRIANO, 60, 68, 70, 233
 Faenza, 91

- Falcucci, Palazzo, [156](#)
 Fano, [55](#)
 Farnese, Pier Luigi, [108](#)
 Federico of Montefeltro, [5](#), [86](#),
[87](#), [88](#), [89](#), [90](#), [91](#), [92](#), [93](#), [94](#),
[95](#), [96](#), [97](#), [98](#), [99](#), [103](#), [145](#),
[146](#), [147](#), [208](#)
 Ferentium, Io
 Fermo, [27](#)
 Ferrara, Ercole d'Este, Duca di,
[97](#)
 Fioretti (quoted), [284](#), [296](#)
 Fisian Hill, [249](#), [250](#)
 Fiskus Sancius, [247](#), [248](#)
 Flaminian Way, [36](#), [55](#), [126](#),
[154](#), [305](#), [308](#)
 Florence, [28](#), [55](#), [62](#), [68](#), [69](#), [78](#),
[94](#), [112](#), [115](#), [116](#), [121](#)
 Foligno, [27](#), [28](#), [51](#), [203](#)
 Fonte Avellana, [23](#), [24](#), [71](#), [153](#),
[187](#), [232](#), [237](#)
 Forte, Beato, [141](#)
 Fortebraccio, [83](#), [96](#)
 Fossato, [4](#), [33](#), [60](#), [62](#), [63](#), [64](#),
[233](#)
 Fossombrone, [17](#), [89](#), [90](#), [103](#),
[105](#)
 Francesca di Castel Durante, [208](#)
 Franceschina, Beata, [199](#)
 Francesco, S., di Assisi, [3](#), [19](#), [52](#),
[58](#)
 Francesco, S. (Legend of Wolf),
[120](#), [282-98](#)
 Francesco di Giorgio, [145](#)
 Francesco, S. (church), [18](#), [120](#),
[197](#)
 Francesco, S., della Pace, [281](#)
 Frangipane, Ottone, [45](#)
 Fratta, Ugolino della, [50](#), [51](#)
 Frederick II., Emperor, [49](#), [50](#),
[54](#), [58](#), [59](#), [126](#)
 GABINUS, LETUS, [302](#)
 Gabrielli, Armanno, [44](#)
 Gabrielli, Baldo, [78](#)
 Gabrielli, Cante, [68](#), [72](#), [78](#)
 Gabrielli, Carlo, [106](#), [110](#)
 Gabrielli, Eudoxia, [215](#)
 Gabrielli, Francesco, [72](#), [73](#), [80](#)
 Gabrielli, Gabriele, Bishop, [71](#),
[83](#)
 Gabrielli, Giacomo, [69](#)
 Gabrielli, Giovanni, [69](#), [78](#)
 Gabrielli, Girolamo, [26](#)
 Gabrielli, Giulio, [110](#)
 Gabrielli, Necciolo, [71](#), [78](#), [83](#)
 Gabrielli, Pietro, Bishop, [48](#)
 Gabrielli, Rudolfo, Bishop, [26](#)
 Gabrielli, Senso, [72](#), [73](#), [78](#)
 Gabrielli, The, [2](#), [20](#), [70](#), [200](#)
 Gabrielli, Via, [159](#), [206](#), [218](#)
 Galeotti, Palazzo, [138](#), [155](#)
 Gallo di Maestro Andrea, [166](#)
 Garter, Order of, [95](#), [147](#)
 Gattapone, [113](#), [123](#), [133](#), [305](#)
 Genoa, [53](#), [55](#)
 Gentile da Brancalone, [87](#), [91](#)
 Gentile da Fabriano, [166](#), [178](#),
[186](#), [192](#), [205](#)
 Gentius, [12](#), [304](#)
 Gervasio e Protasio, SS., [151](#)
 Gherardo da Rieti, [138](#)
 Ghibelline diplomas, [127](#)
 Ghibellines, [22](#), [29](#), [32](#), [39](#), [50](#),
[59](#), [60](#), [62](#), [67](#), [68](#), [69](#), [75](#), [77](#),
[118](#)
 Giacomo e Mariano, SS., [55](#)
 Giampaoli, [132](#), [203](#)
 Giannicula di Cristoforo, [205](#)
 Giannicula di Paolo, [188](#)
 Giorgio, Francesco di, [145](#)
 Giorgio, Maestro, [129](#), [137](#), [149](#)
 Giovanna di Montefeltro, [149](#)
 Giovanni Battista, S. (church),
[200](#), [201](#)
 Giovanni III., Bishop, [224](#)
 Giovanni da Gubbio, Cardinal,
[31](#)
 Giovanni da Gubbio (architect),
[132](#)

- Giovanni da Lodi, S., [141](#)
 Giovanni da Recoło, [219](#)
 Girolamo, S., [152](#), [210](#)
 Giuliano, S., [155](#), [156](#), [157](#), [216](#)
 Giuliano, S. Fonte, [156](#)
 Giuliano, S. Via, [157](#)
 Giulio, Ugubo, [7](#)
 Globo, Via del, [283](#)
 Gobio, [7](#), [302](#)
 Godfrey de Bouillon, [26](#)
 Gomero Gallo, [7](#), [8](#)
 Gonfalone, [128](#), [292](#)
 Gonfaloniere, [39](#), [73](#), [95](#), [107](#),
 [117](#), [165](#)
 Gonzaga, Elizabetta, [100](#), [101](#),
 [104](#), [107](#), [204](#)
 Gonzaga, Gian Francesco, Mar-
 quis of Mantua, [88](#)
 Goths, [15](#), [16](#)
 Grabovius, [14](#), [126](#), [247](#), [249](#)
 Gradivius, Jupiter, [14](#), [126](#)
 Gregorio, Paolo di, [241](#)
 Gregory VII., Pope, [24](#), [27](#)
 Gregory IX., Pope, [54](#), [55](#), [57](#),
 [58](#), [151](#), [216](#)
 Gregory XI., Pope, [71](#)
 Gregory XII., Pope, [219](#)
 Gregory XVI., Pope, [187](#)
 Gualdo, [35](#), [36](#), [52](#), [60](#)
 Gualdo, Pietro da, [289](#)
 Guardabassi (quoted), [133](#)
 Guelf, [22](#), [23](#), [27](#), [29](#), [32](#), [39](#), [44](#),
 [56](#), [60](#), [61](#), [62](#), [64](#), [66](#), [67](#), [68](#),
 [69](#), [77](#), [114](#), [118](#)
 Guelfoni, [24](#)
 Guidantonio di Montefeltro, [81](#),
 [82](#), [83](#), [219](#)
 Guido da Arezzo, [25](#)
 Guido di Montefeltro, [76](#), [77](#)
 Guidubaldo L. of Montefeltro,
 [94](#), [99](#), [100](#), [101](#), [102](#), [103](#),
 [104](#), [105](#), [107](#), [126](#), [145](#), [148](#),
 [204](#)
 Guidubaldo II., della Rovere,
 [107](#), [108](#), [126](#)
 Guy, King of Jerusalem (note),
 [48](#), [49](#)
 HANNIBAL, [11](#)
 Hawkwood, Sir John, [79](#)
 Henry II., Emperor, [24](#), [27](#)
 Henry IV., [27](#), [28](#)
 Henry V., [31](#)
 Henry VI., [44](#), [47](#), [48](#), [49](#), [50](#)
 Henry VII., [68](#)
 Hermitage of St. Ambrogio, [4](#),
 [82](#), [218](#), [306](#), [307](#)
 Hondus Cerfius, [248](#)
 Honorius III., Pope, [53](#), [54](#), [75](#),
 [228](#)
 Hungarians, [20](#), [21](#)
 Huschke (quoted), [242](#)
 IBI, SINIBALDO, [135](#)
 Iguvian, [246](#), [249](#), [250](#)
 Iguvine State, [256](#), [257](#), [258](#), [259](#),
 [260](#)
 Iguvium, [246](#), [250](#)
 Ikuvini, [8](#), [11](#)
 Imola, [87](#)
 Ingino, Monte, [1](#), [4](#), [16](#), [27](#), [41](#),
 [48](#), [151](#), [211](#), [222](#), [237](#)
 Innocent I., Pope, [131](#)
 Innocent III., Pope, [50](#), [52](#), [53](#),
 [54](#)
 Innocent IV., Pope, [58](#)
 Innocent VI., Pope, [69](#)
 Innocent VIII., Pope, [99](#), [101](#)
 JANUS, [14](#), [246](#)
 Japudicans, [250](#), [256](#), [260](#)
 Jesi, [17](#), [51](#)
 John, S., the Baptist, [18](#), [132](#)
 John XXII., Pope, [68](#)
 John XXIII., Pope, [82](#), [212](#)
 Julius II., Pope (della Rovere),
 [104](#), [105](#), [152](#), [194](#)
 Jupiter, [247](#)
 Jupiter Apenninus, [245](#)
 Jupiter Gradivus, [14](#)

KIRCHHOFF (quoted), [245](#)
 Knights Templars, [49](#)
 Kvestur, [245](#), [253](#), [260](#)

LADISLAUS, King of Naples, [81](#)

Laici, Sta. Maria dei, [163](#), [166](#), [194](#)

Lanzi, [246](#)

Laspeyres (quoted), [156](#), [223](#)

Lazzaro, S., [215](#)

Leo, S., [21](#), [102](#), [103](#)

Leo III., Pope, [18](#)

Leo X., Pope, [105](#), [106](#), [107](#), [187](#)

Leo Isauricus, [18](#)

Lepanto, [109](#)

Leuchas de Crandis, [138](#)

Lodigiani, [35](#)

Lombard Duchy of Spoleto, [17](#)

Lombard Invasion, [17](#)

Lombard kings, [18](#)

Lombard League, [18](#), [42](#)

Lorenzo, Cardinal di S., [56](#)

Loricatus, [26](#)

Lothair II., [32](#)

Lucarelli (quoted), [28](#), [54](#), [161](#), [243](#)

Lucca, [42](#), [44](#), [55](#)

Lucca, Pietruccio di, [166](#)

Luceoli, [17](#)

Lucia, Sta., [216](#)

Lucius Anicius, [304](#)

Lucius Antonius, [12](#)

Lucius III., Pope, [43](#)

Ludovic II., [19](#)

Luitbrand, [18](#), [183](#)

MADONNA DAL BELVEDERE, [170](#), [171](#), [172](#)

Maffei, Francesco, [165](#), [169](#)

Maffei, Girolamo, [129](#), [140](#)

Magliano Sabina, [93](#)

Mahomet II., [33](#), [36](#), [90](#), [96](#), [98](#)

Mainolo, [103](#)

Malatesta of Rimini, The, [72](#), [79](#), [90](#)

Malatesta, Galeazzo, [89](#)

Malatesta, Galeotto, [70](#), [102](#), [122](#)

Malatesta, Renegarda, [80](#)

Malatesta, Sigismondo, [84](#), [85](#), [86](#), [90](#), [91](#)

Manfred, [47](#), [59](#), [60](#), [62](#), [64](#)

Manfredi de' Pii, [85](#)

Marcello II., Pope, [133](#)

Marche, The, [15](#), [31](#), [41](#), [53](#), [55](#), [56](#), [62](#), [64](#), [69](#)

Maria, Sta. dei Laici, [60](#)

Maria, Sta. dei Servi, [209](#)

Maria, Sta. della Piaggiola, [192](#)

Maria, Sta. Nuova, [169](#)

Mariano, S. (the Canonica), [31](#), [132](#)

Mariano e Giacomo, SS., [127](#), [224](#), [225](#), [227](#), [236](#)

Marignano, [109](#)

Mark Antony, [12](#)

Marmorea, Porta, [83](#)

Marruvio, [10](#)

Mars, [14](#), [247](#)

Mars Grabovius, [248](#)

Mars Hodus, [248](#)

Marsites, [10](#)

Martin V., Pope, [82](#), [84](#), [87](#), [212](#)

Marziale, S., [209](#), [210](#), [277](#)

Masci, Giacomo, [205](#)

Massolo, Agnolo di, [166](#)

Mausoleum, The, [303](#)

Medici, Antonio, [84](#)

Medici, Giuliano dei, [105](#), [106](#)

Medici, Lorenzo dei, [96](#), [106](#), [107](#)

Medici, Pope Leo X., [105](#)

Menico, Antonio di, [205](#)

Mercatelli, [88](#)

Merlini, Orlandi, [136](#)

- Metauro, Porta, [206](#), [218](#), [305](#),
[306](#), [307](#)
 Milan, Duke of, [94](#), [96](#), [97](#)
 Milanese cloth - workers, [35](#),
[40](#)
 Modena, Duke of, [90](#), [91](#)
 Monte Aguto, [23](#), [27](#), [153](#)
 Monte Calvo, [4](#), [8](#), [34](#), [41](#), [82](#),
[218](#), [305](#), [307](#)
 Monte Catria, [23](#), [27](#), [153](#), [232](#)
 Monte S. Giacomo, [34](#)
 Monte S. Girolamo, [4](#)
 Monte Ingino, [1](#), [4](#), [16](#), [27](#), [48](#),
[151](#), [237](#), [305](#), [306](#)
 Monte S. Ubaldo, [27](#), [222](#)
 Montefaiata, [55](#)
 Montefeltri, The, [3](#), [69](#), [120](#), [205](#)
 Montefeltro, [17](#), [21](#), [45](#), [74](#), [75](#),
[77](#), [79](#)
 Montefeltro, Battista di, [80](#)
 Montefeltro, Count Antonio of,
[23](#), [73](#), [74](#), [77](#), [78](#), [80](#), [81](#)
 Montefeltro, Count Guidantonio
 of, [81](#), [82](#), [83](#)
 Montefeltro, Count Guido of,
[76](#), [77](#)
 Montefeltro, Federico e Galasso,
[66](#)
 Montefeltro, Federico of, [5](#), [86](#),
[87](#), [89](#), [90](#), [91](#), [92](#), [93](#), [94](#), [95](#),
[145](#)
 Montefiascone, [50](#)
 Montepiscopale, [55](#)
 Morosini, [22](#)
 Muratori (church of), [279](#), [289](#)
 Museum, The, [128](#), [146](#)

 NANNI, BERNARDINO DI, [113](#)
 Naricans, [250](#), [256](#), [260](#)
 Nelli, Martino, [166](#), [185](#), [192](#),
[194](#)
 Nelli, Mattiolo, [166](#), [196](#)
 Nelli, Ottaviano, [163](#), [166](#), [170](#),
[171](#), [172](#), [183](#), [185](#), [192](#), [214](#)
 Nelli, School of, [135](#)

 Nelli, Tommaso, [129](#), [166](#), [205](#)
 Nelli, Via, [169](#)
 Nepi, [28](#)
 Neri, Via dei, [273](#)
 Niccioli di, Maestro Angelo, [166](#)
 Nicholas I., Pope, [19](#)
 Nicholas II., Pope, [26](#)
 Nicholas IV., Pope, [198](#)
 Nicholas V., Pope, [82](#), [84](#), [87](#),
[90](#)
 Nocera, [36](#), [51](#), [52](#), [60](#), [203](#)
 Nucci, Benedetto, [120](#), [168](#), [209](#)
 Nucci, Virgilio, [199](#)

 Odd' ANTONIO, [84](#), [85](#), [86](#), [95](#)
 Oderisi, School of, [67](#), [160](#), [161](#)
 Odoacer, [15](#)
 Offredo, Abbot, [40](#), [46](#), [189](#)
 Olivetani, [187](#)
 Onde-dei, Palazzo, [159](#)
 Ordine, Colombina, [24](#)
 Orsini, [67](#), [101](#)
 Orvieto, [27](#), [28](#), [44](#), [55](#), [69](#)
 Osimo, [17](#)
 Ospedale, Grande, [194](#)
 Ostia, Bishop of, [203](#)
 Otho I., [50](#)
 Otho IV., [50](#), [52](#), [54](#)
 Otranto, [96](#)

 PALAZZO DEI CONSOLI, [4](#), [5](#), [14](#),
[22](#), [70](#), [71](#), [112](#), [117](#), [120](#), [122](#),
[123](#), [151](#), [155](#), [156](#), [157](#), [177](#),
[282](#), [296](#)
 Palazzo del Pretorio, [4](#), [22](#), [37](#),
[123](#), [177](#)
 Palazzo Ducale, [145](#)
 Palazzo Vecchio, [116](#)
 Pallas, [14](#), [246](#)
 Palmerucci and Oderisi (School
 of), [67](#), [160](#), [161](#), [162](#), [163](#),
[164](#), [194](#), [197](#), [217](#)
 Pamfili, [19](#)
 Pamfili, Bishop Ludolfo, [23](#)
 Pamfili, Cappella, [78](#)

- Pandolfo di Figuera, [52](#)
 Pandolfo, Petrucci, [102](#)
 Paoli, Via, [282](#)
 Paolo di Gregorio, [241](#)
 Parma, [55](#), [59](#)
 Paschal II., Pope, [31](#)
 Passeri (quoted), [125](#), [142](#)
 Paul III., Pope, [108](#)
 Pelasgi, [7](#)
 Peltroni, Pier Antonio, [87](#)
 Pentapoli, [17](#), [18](#)
 Pergola, Castle of, [41](#), [55](#), [56](#),
[58](#), [66](#), [72](#), [89](#)
 Perugia, [16](#), [27](#), [28](#), [33](#), [34](#), [44](#),
[45](#), [50](#), [51](#), [52](#), [53](#), [55](#), [56](#), [58](#),
[60](#), [62](#), [64](#), [67](#), [68](#), [69](#), [70](#), [78](#),
[79](#), [82](#), [102](#), [155](#), [233](#)
 Pesaro, [55](#), [86](#), [89](#)
 Pesaro, Battista of, [92](#)
 Pesaro, Giovanni Sforza, Lord
of, [101](#)
 Petroia, Castle of, [99](#)
 Philip, son of Barbarossa, [50](#), [52](#)
 Piaggiola, Sta. Maria della, [192](#)
 Piazza, della Signoria, [5](#), [112](#),
[120](#), [122](#), [138](#), [155](#), [177](#)
 Piccotti, Francesco (quoted), [9](#),
[14](#), [26](#), [34](#), [43](#), [45](#), [49](#), [52](#), [55](#),
[56](#), [59](#), [156](#)
 Picenum, [12](#)
 Pier Angelo da Gubbio, [145](#),
[146](#)
 Pietro, S. (church), [20](#), [186](#)
 Pietro, S. Porta, [191](#), [192](#)
 Pietro di Berardello, [63](#)
 Pietro di Nolato, [36](#)
 Pietruccio di Lucca, [166](#)
 Pinacoteca and Museum, [127](#),
[128](#), [129](#)
 Pintali, Giovanni, [167](#)
 Pinturicchio, [137](#)
 Pius II., Pope, [92](#)
 Pius V., Pope, [169](#)
 Pius VI., Pope, [152](#), [300](#)
 Pius IX., Pope, [152](#)
 Plancus, [12](#), [13](#)
 Podestà, [19](#), [28](#), [51](#), [61](#), [164](#)
 Pomerancio, [138](#)
 Pompey, [12](#)
 Pomponius Grechinus, [304](#)
 Porta Castello, [261](#)
 Porta del Borgo, [71](#)
 Porta Gioconda, [156](#)
 Porta Marmorea, [71](#), [83](#)
 Porta Metauro, [206](#), [218](#), [305](#),
[306](#), [307](#)
 Porta Romana, [2](#), [4](#), [65](#), [68](#), [76](#),
[77](#), [105](#), [150](#), [177](#), [209](#)
 Porta Sta. Croce, [157](#)
 Porta Sta. Lucia, [71](#), [83](#)
 Porta S. Pietro, [191](#), [192](#)
 Porta S. Ubaldo, [34](#), [150](#), [307](#)
 Porta Trasimeno, [3](#), [83](#), [299](#)
 Porziuncula, [152](#), [199](#), [200](#)
 Praestita Cerfia, [256](#), [257](#), [258](#)
 Prinzivallo Doria, [60](#), [62](#), [127](#)
 Privileges and diplomas, [45](#),
[127](#), [217](#)
 Ptolemais, [49](#)
 Puglia, [96](#)
 QUARTERS of the city, [38](#)
 Questor, [245](#)
 RAFFAELLE DEL COLLE, [189](#)
 Raffaelli, [22](#)
 Raimondo dei Tolomei, [72](#)
 Rainaldo, Bishop of Cologne, [38](#)
 Ranghiasi, Abbate Luigi
(quoted), [124](#), [132](#), [300](#), [301](#)
 Ranghiasi-Brancaleone, Palaz-
zo, [138](#), [155](#), [277](#)
 Raniero di Ghigense, [49](#)
 Recanati, Abbate G. F.
(quoted), [243](#)
 Reposati (quoted), [27](#), [81](#), [83](#),
[97](#), [151](#), [157](#)
 Reposati, Via, [276](#)
 Rinaldo da Gubbio, [120](#)
 Rocca, La, [4](#), [48](#), [82](#), [153](#)

- Roffredo, 25
 Romana, Porta, 2, 4, 65, 68, 76,
77, 130, 150, 177, 209
 Rovere, della, 77, 79, 99, 104
 Rovere, della, Bishop Francesco,
105
 Rovere, della, Francesco Maria,
104
 Rovere, della, Giovanni, 95
 Rovere, della, Pope Julius II.,
104, 105, 152

 SALA REGIA, 9
 Sala della Giunta, 124, 126, 244
 Salimbene, 22
 Salinguerra, 22, 38, 40, 43
 Salvidenus, 12
 Samnites, 10
 Saracens, 20, 57
 Sarti (quoted), 14, 21
 Sassoferrato, 33, 233
 Savelli della Porta, Via, 169,
176, 209, 270, 282
 Scarmiglione, Ludovico, 102
 Scheggia, 27, 245, 305
 Scipio Africanus, 11
 Secondinus, 14
 Secondo, S. (church), 121, 150,
214
 Sencus, 247
 Serafino Serafini, 85
 Seralta, 55
 Sergius IV., Pope, 24
 Serra, della, 20, 23
 Serra S'Onda, 83
 Settembre, Via XV., 269
 Sforza, The, 89, 90, 92, 96, 97,
100, 101
 Sforzoli ni, Necciolo dei, 73
 Siena, 55, 68, 72, 102, 112, 121,
164
 Siense school of painting, 163
 Silvius Italicus, 11
 Sinibaldo, Ibi, 135
 Sixtus IV., Pope, 95, 99

 Spadalunga, 18, 120, 197, 294,
295
 Spell, 250
 Sperandia, Sta., 210
 Spirito, Sto., 207
 Spoleto, 16, 17, 28, 43, 52, 58,
66, 69, 83, 110, 233
 Stefano, Padre, 219
 Steuchi (quoted), 13
 Strozzi, Palazzo, 112
 Strozzi, Pietro, 109
 Subasio, Monte, 120
 Sutri, 28

 TADINATES, 250, 256, 260
 Tancred and Bohemond, 26
 Tavole, Eugubine, 124
 Teatro Ikuvio, 116
 Tefer, 247
 Teobaldo, B., 32, 36, 39, 132,
222, 335
 Termo, 12
 Terzuolo, 146, 169
 Tesena, 248
 Theatre, Umbro-Roman, 116,
299
 Theodoric, 15, 16
 Timoteo Vite, 136, 138, 139
 Todi, 27, 28, 52, 70
 Tolomei, Raimondo, 72
 Tommaso da Rimini, 85
 Toschi Moschi, Via, 202
 Totila, 16
 Trasimeno, Porta, 3, 83, 299
 Trebudan gate, 248, 256, 260
 Trebus, 247, 248
 Trefus, Jovius, 248
 Trinità, Sta., 209, 213
 Turks, 96
 Tursa Jovia, 260
 Tuscan, 256

 UBALDINI, 87, 96, 99, 100, 102
 Ubaldo, S., 31, 32, 35, 36, 39,
151, 155, 157, 158, 221, 339

- Ubaldo, S. (Convent of), [4](#), [150](#), [279](#)
 Urbaldo, S. (Festival of), [33](#), [51](#), [91](#)
 Ubaldo, S., Monte, [222](#)
 Ubaldo, S., Porta, [34](#), [150](#)
 Ubaldo di Matteo, [167](#)
 Ughelli, [21](#)
 Ugolino, Bandi, [99](#)
 Ugolino della Fratta, [50](#), [51](#)
 Ugolino di Guglielmino, [51](#)
 Ugolino di Sezza, [61](#)
 Ugone, Tiberio di, [63](#), [64](#)
 Uguccione della Fagiola, [66](#), [67](#), [77](#)
 Ulfreduccio, Margoli, [48](#)
 Umbertide, [121](#)
 Umbria, [8](#), [10](#), [31](#), [57](#), [58](#), [69](#)
 Umbrian school of painting, [160](#)
 Umbrians, [8](#), [10](#), [100](#), [246](#)
 Umbro-Pelasgic walls, [306](#)
 Umbro-Roman Theatre, [18](#), [122](#), [125](#), [299](#), [300](#), [301](#)
 Urban II., Pope, [26](#)
 Urban IV., Pope, [60](#), [65](#), [66](#)
 Urban VI., Pope, [72](#), [78](#), [79](#)
 Urban VIII., Pope, [110](#)
 Urbino, [17](#), [33](#), [44](#), [55](#), [59](#), [73](#), [74](#), [79](#), [81](#), [85](#), [89](#), [90](#), [91](#), [92](#), [93](#), [94](#), [101](#), [102](#), [103](#), [104](#), [105](#), [106](#), [107](#), [108](#), [109](#), [110](#), [145](#), [200](#), [208](#), [246](#), [255](#)
 Urbino, Duke of, [85](#), [95](#), [97](#)
 VALFABBRICA, [51](#), [108](#)
 Valliano, [109](#)
 Valmarcola, [33](#), [56](#), [233](#)
 Vandino, Vandinis di Faventia, [102](#)
 Varano, [108](#)
 Varro, [253](#)
 Veies, [248](#)
 Velletri, Bishop of, [203](#)
 Venice, [88](#)
 Ventidius, [12](#)
 Ventura, Bishop, [208](#)
 Vesta, [14](#), [246](#)
 Villano, Bishop, [3](#), [52](#), [54](#), [76](#), [141](#)
 Vineigliata, [115](#)
 Virginia, Sta., [142](#)
 Virtù, Conte di, [79](#)
 Visconti, Galeazzo, [79](#)
 Visconti, Gian Galeazzo, [169](#)
 Visconti, Giovanni, Archbishop of Milan, [69](#)
 Vite, Timoteo, [136](#), [138](#), [139](#), [209](#)
 Viterbo, [55](#), [68](#)
 Vittorina, La, [289](#)
 Vittorio IV., Antipope, [39](#)
 Vittorio Emanuele III., [111](#)
 Volfionus, [247](#), [249](#)
 Volsinium, [10](#)
 Volterra, [94](#)
 Volterra, Ser Pannocchia di, [164](#)
 "ZECCA, STORIA DELLA," [27](#), [81](#), [83](#), [97](#), [151](#), [157](#)
 Zecca, Via della, [3](#), [113](#), [155](#)

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